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THE WRITINGS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

VOLUME V

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THE WRITINGS

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

COLLECTED AND EDITED

WITH A LIFE AND INTRODUCTION

BY

ALBERT HENRY SMYTH

VOLUME V

1767–1772

New York

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

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TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. P. S.	American Philosophical Society.
B. M.	British Museum.
B. N.	Bibliothèque Nationale.
D. S. W.	Department of State, Washington.
H.	Harvard University.
L. C.	Library of Congress.
L. L.	Lenox Library.
Lans.	Lansdowne House.
M. H. S.	Massachusetts Historical Society.
P. C.	Private Collection.
P. H. S.	Pennsylvania Historical Society.
P. R. O.	Public Record Office.
P. R. O. A. W. I.	Public Record Office: America and West Indies.
P. A. E. E. U.	Paris Departement des Affaires Etrangères, — Etats-Unis.
U. of P.	University of Pennsylvania.
Y.	Yale University.
B.	Bigelow.
F.	Benjamin Franklin.
S.	Sparks.
V.	Benjamin Vaughan.
W. T. F.	W. T. Franklin.

Franklin's Mss. exist in several forms. He made a rough draft of every letter that he wrote; he then made a clean copy to send away, and often retained a letter-press copy. To indicate the state of the document, the following abbreviations are used: d. = draft, trans. = transcript, l. p. = letter-press copy.

425. REMARKS AND FACTS CONCERNING AMERICAN PAPER MONEY[1]

REMARKS ON THE REPORT PUBLISHED IN OUR LAST CHRONICLE. BY B. F., ESQ.

In the Report of the Board of Trade, dated *February* 9, 1764, the following Reasons are given for *restraining the Emission* of Paper Bills of Credit in *America*, as a *legal Tender*.

1. That it *carries* the Gold and Silver out of the Province, and so ruins the Country, as *Experience has shewn* in every Colony, where it has been practised in any great Degree.

2. That the Merchants trading to *America* have *suffered* and lost by it.

3. That the Restriction has had a beneficial Effect in *New England*.

4. That every Medium of Trade should have an intrinsic Value, which Paper Money has not. Gold and Silver are therefore the fittest for this Medium, as they are an Equivalent, which Paper never can be.

5. That Debtors, in the Assemblies, make Paper Money with fraudulent Views.

6. That in the Middle Colonies, where the Credit of the Paper Money has been best supported, the Bills have never kept to the nominal value in circulation, but have constantly depreciated to a certain Degree whenever the Quantity has been increased.

[1] Printed in Goddard's *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, June 1, 1767.

To consider these Reasons in their Order; the first is, *That Paper Money carries the Gold and Silver out of the Province, and so ruins the Country, as Experience has shewn in every Colony where it has been practised in any great Degree.* This seems to be a mere speculative Opinion, not founded on Fact in any of the Colonies. The Truth is, that the Balance of their Trade with Britain being generally against them, the Gold and Silver is drawn out to pay that Balance; and then the Necessity of some Medium of Trade has induced the making of Paper Money, which could not be carried away. Thus, if carrying out all the Gold and Silver ruins a Country, every Colony was ruined before it made Paper Money. But, far from being ruined by it, the Colonies, that have made Use of Paper Money, have been and are all in a thriving Condition. Their Debt indeed to *Britain* has increased, because their Numbers, and of course their Trade, has increased; for all Trade having always a Proportion of Debt outstanding, which is paid in its Turn, while fresh Debt is contracted, that Proportion of Debt naturally increases as the Trade increases; but the Improvement and Increase of Estates in the Colonies has been in a greater Proportion than their Debt.

New England, particularly, in 1696, about the Time they began the Use of Paper Money, had in all its four Provinces, but 130 Churches or Congregations, in 1760 they were 530; The Number of Farms and Buildings is increased in Proportion to the Number of People and the Goods exported to them from *England* in 1750, before the Restraint took Place, were near five Times as much as before they had Paper Money. Pennsylvania, before they made any Paper Money, was totally stript of its Gold and Silver, though

they had from Time to Time, like the neighbouring Colonies, agreed to take Gold and Silver Coins at higher and higher nominal Values, in hopes of drawing Money into, and retaining it for the internal Uses of the Province. During that weak Practice, Silver got up by Degrees to 8*s*. 9*d*. an Ounce, and English Crowns were called 6, 7, and 8*s*. Pieces long before Paper Money was made. But this Practice of increasing the Denomination was found not to answer the End. The Balance of Trade carried out the Gold and Silver as fast as it was brought in, the Merchants raising the Price of their Goods in proportion to the increased Denomination of the Money. The Difficulties for Want of Cash were accordingly very great, the chief Part of the Trade being carried on by the extremely inconvenient Method of Barter; when, in 1723, Paper Money was first made there, which gave new Life to Business, promoted greatly the Settlement of new Lands, by lending small Sums to Beginners on easy Interest, to be repaid by Installments, whereby the Province has so greatly increased in Inhabitants, that the Export from hence thither is now more than tenFold what it then was; and by their Trade with foreign Colonies they have been able to obtain great Quantities of Gold and Silver to remit hither, in Return for the Manufactures of this Country. *New York* and *New Jersey* have also increased and improved greatly, during the same Period, with the Use of Paper Money; so that it does not appear to be of the ruinous Nature ascribed to it. And if the Inhabitants of those Countries are glad to have the Use of Paper among themselves, that they may thereby be enabled to spare, for Remittances hither the Gold and Silver they obtain by their Commerce with Foreigners, one would expect no Objection against

their parting with it could arise here in the Country that receives it.

The second Reason is, *That the Merchants trading to* America *have suffered and lost by the Paper Money.* This may have been the Case in particular Instances, at particular Times and Places, as in *South Carolina*, about fifty Years since, when the Colony was thought in Danger of being destroyed by the *Indians* and *Spaniards*, and the *British* merchants, in Fear of losing their whole Effects there, called precipitately for Remittances; and the Inhabitants, to get something lodged in safer Countries, gave any Price in Paper Money for Bills of Exchange, whereby the Paper, as compared with Bills, or with Produce, or other Effects fit for Exportation, was suddenly and greatly depreciated.

The unsettled State of Government, for a long Time in that Province had its Share in discrediting its Bills. But since that Danger blew over, and the Colony has been in the Hands of the Crown, the Currency became fixed, and has so remained to this Day. Also in *New England*, when much greater Quantities were issued than was necessary for a Medium of Trade, to defray the Expedition against *Louisburgh;* and, during the last War, in *Virginia* and *South Carolina*, where great Sums were likewise issued to pay the Colony Troops, and the War made Tobacco a poorer Remittance, from the higher Price of Freight and Insurance. In these Cases, the Merchants trading to those Provinces may sometimes have suffered by the sudden and unforeseen Rise of Exchange. By slow and gradual Rises they seldom suffer, the Goods being sold at proportional Prices. But War is a common Calamity in all Countries, and the Merchants that deal with them cannot expect to avoid a Share of the Losses

it sometimes occasions, by affecting public Credit. It is hoped, however, that the Profits of their subsequent Commerce with those Colonies may have made them some Reparation. And the Middle Colonies *New-York*, *New-Jersey*, and Pennsylvania, have never suffered by any Rise of Exchange, it having ever been a constant Rule there to consider *British* Debts as payable in *Britain*, and not to be discharged but by as much Paper (whatever might be the Rate of Exchange) as would purchase a Bill for the full Sterling Sum. On the contrary, the Merchants have been great Gainers by the Use of Paper Money in those Colonies; as it enabled them to vend much greater Quantities of Goods, and the Purchasers to pay more punctually for them. And the People there make no Complaint of any Injury done them by Paper Money with a legal Tender; they are sensible of its Benefits, and Petition to have it so allowed.

The *third* Reason is, *That the Restriction has had a beneficial Effect in* New England. Particular Circumstances in the *New England* Colonies made Paper Money less necessary and less convenient to them. They have great and valuable Fisheries of Whale and Cod, by which large Remittances can be made. They are four distinct Governments; but having much mutual Intercourse of Dealings with each other, the Money of each used to pass current in all. But the whole of this common Currency, not being under one common Direction, was not so easily kept within due Bounds, the prudent Reserve of one Colony in its Emissions being rendered useless by Excess in another. The *Massachusetts* were therefore not dissatisfied with the Restraint, as it restrained their Neighbours as well as themselves; and perhaps they do not desire to have the Act repealed. They have not yet

felt much Inconvenience from it, as they were enabled to abolish their Paper Currency by a large Sum paid them in Silver from *Britain*, to reimburse them their expence in taking *Louisburg*, which, with the Gold brought from *Portugal* by Means of their Fish, kept them supplied with a Currency, till the late War furnished them and all *America* with Bills of Exchange, so that little Cash was needed for Remittance. Their Fisheries too, furnishing them with Remittance through *Spain* and *Portugal* to *England*, which enables them the more easily to retain Silver and Gold in their Country. The middle Colonies have not this Advantage, nor have they Tobacco, which in *Virginia* and *Maryland* answers the same Purpose. When Colonies are so different in their Circumstances, a Regulation, that is not inconvenient to one or a few, may be very much so to the rest. But the Pay is now become so indifferent in *New England*, at least in some of its Provinces, through a Scarcity of Currency, that the Trade thither is at present under great Discouragement.

The 4th Reason is, *That every Medium of Trade should have an intrinsic Value, which Paper Money has not: Gold and Silver are therefore the fittest for this Medium, as they are an Equivalent, which Paper never can be.* However fit a particular Thing may be for a particular Purpose, wherever that Thing is not to be had, or not to be had in sufficient Plenty, it becomes necessary to use something else, the fittest that can be got, in lieu of it. Gold and Silver are not the Produce of *North-America*, which has no Mines; and that which is brought thither, cannot be kept there in sufficient Quantity for a Currency. *Britain*, an independent great State, when its Inhabitants grow too fond of the expensive Luxuries of foreign Countries, that draw away its Money,

can, and frequently does, make Laws to discourage or prohibit such Importations; and, by that Means, can retain its Cash.

The Colonies are dependent Governments, and their People, having naturally great Respect for the sovereign Country, and being thence immoderately fond of its Modes, Manufactures, and Superfluities, cannot be restrained, in purchasing them, by any Province Law; because such Law, if made there, would immediately be repealed here as prejudicial to the Trade and Interest of *Britain*. It seems hard therefore to draw all their real Money from them, and then refuse them the poor Privilege of using Paper instead of it. Bank Bills and Bankers' Notes are daily used here as a Medium of Trade, and in large Dealings perhaps the greater Part is transacted by their Means; and yet they have no intrinsic Value, but rest on the Credit of those that issue them, as Paper Bills in the Colonies do on the Credit of the respective Governments there: Their being payable in Cash upon Sight by the Drawers, is indeed a Circumstance that cannot attend the Colony Bills for the Reason just above mentioned, their Cash being drawn from them by the *British* Trade; but the legal Tender being substituted in its Place, is rather a greater Advantage to the Possessor, since he need not be at the Trouble of going to a particular Bank or Banker to demand his Money, finding wherever he has Occasion to lay out Money in the Province, a Person that is obliged to take the Bills. So that even out of the Province, the Knowledge that every Man within that Province is obliged to take its Money, gives the Bills a Credit among its Neighbours nearly equal to what they have at home. And were it not for the Laws here, [in England] that restrain or prohibit, as much

as possible, all losing Trades, the Cash of this Country would soon be exported; every Merchant, who had Occasion to remit it, would run to the Bank with all its Bills, that came into his Hands, and take out his Part of its Treasure for that Purpose, so that in a short Time it would be no more able to pay Bills in Money upon Sight, than it is now in the Power of a Colony Treasury so to do. If Government afterwards should have Occasion for the Credit of the Bank, it must of Necessity make its Bills a legal Tender, funding them however on Taxes by which they may in Time be paid off, as has been the general Practice in the Colonies.

At this very Time even the Silver Money in *England* is obliged to the legal Tender for Part of its Value, that Part which is the Difference between its real Weight and its Denomination. Great Part of the Shillings and Sixpences now current, are by wearing become 5, 10, 20, and some of the Sixpences even 50 *per Cent.* too light. For this Difference between the *real* and *nominal*, you have no *intrinsic* Value, you have not so much as Paper, you have nothing. It is the legal Tender only, that makes Three-Pennyworth of Silver pass for Sixpence. Gold and Silver have undoubtedly some Properties, that give them a Fitness above Paper, as a Medium of Exchange; particularly their universal Estimation, especially in Cases where a Country has Occasion to carry its Money abroad, either as a Stock to trade with, or to purchase Allies and foreign Succours; otherwise that very universal Estimation is an Inconvenience which Paper Money is free from, since it tends to deprive a Country of even the Quantity of Currency that should be retained as a necessary Instrument of its internal Commerce; and obliges it to be continually on its Guard, in making and executing

at a great Expence, the Laws that are to prevent the Trade which exports it.

Paper Money, well funded, has another great Advantage over Gold and Silver, its Lightness of Carriage, and the little Room that is occupied by a great Sum, whereby it is capable of being more easily, and more safely, because more privately conveyed from Place to Place. Gold and Silver are not *intrinsically* of equal Value with Iron, a Metal in itself capable of many more beneficial Uses to Mankind. Their Value rests chiefly in the Estimation they happen to be in among the Generality of Nations, and the Credit given to the Opinion that that Estimation will continue: Otherwise a Pound of Gold would not be a real Equivalent for even a Bushel of Wheat. Any other well-founded Credit is as much an Equivalent as Gold and Silver, and in some Cases more so, or it would not be preferred by commercial People in different Countries. Not to mention again our own Bank Bills, *Holland*, which understands the Value of Cash as well as any People in the World, would never part with Gold and Silver for Credit, (as they do when they put it into their Bank, from whence little of it is ever afterwards drawn out), if they did not think and find the Credit a full Equivalent.

The 5th Reason is, *That Debtors, in the Assemblies, make Paper Money with fraudulent Views.* This is often said by the Adversaries of Paper Money, and if it has been the Case in any particular Colony, that Colony should, on Proof of the Fact, be duly punished. This, however, would be no Reason for punishing other Colonies who have not so abused their legislative Powers. To deprive all the Colonies of the Convenience of Paper Money, because it has been charged on some of them that they have made it an Instrument of Fraud,

is, as if all the *India*, Bank, and other Stocks trading Companies and public Funds were to be abolished, because there have been once in an Age *Mississippi* and *South-Sea* Schemes and Bubbles.

The 6th and last Reason is, *That in the Middle Colonies, where the Paper Money has been best supported, the Bills have never kept to their nominal Value in Circulation, but have constantly depreciated, to a certain Degree, whenever the Quantity has been increased.* If the Rising of the Value of any particular Commodity, wanted for Exportation, is to be considered as a Depreciation of the Values of whatever remains in the Country, then the rising of Silver above Paper to that Height of additional Value which its Capability of Exportation only gave it, may be called a Depreciation of the Paper. Even here, as Bullion has been wanted or not wanted for Exportation, its Price has varied from 5*s.* 2*d.* to 5*s.* 8*d.* per Ounce. This is near 10 *per Cent.* But was it ever said or thought on such an Occasion, that all the Bank Bills, and all the coined Silver, and all the Gold in the Kingdom, were depreciated *10 per Cent?* Coin'd Silver is now wanted here for Change, and one *per Cent* is given for it by some Bankers; are Gold and Bank Notes therefore depreciated one *per Cent?*

The Fact in the Middle Colonies is really this. On the Emission of the first Paper Money, a Difference soon arose between that and Silver, the latter having a Property the former had not, a Property always in Demand in the Colonies, to wit, it being fit for a Remittance. This Property, having soon found its Value, by the Merchants bidding on one another for it, and a Dollar thereby coming to be rated at 8*s.* in Paper Money of *New-York*, and 7*s.* 6*d.* in Paper of *Penn-*

sylvania, it has continued uniformly at those Rates in both Provinces now near forty Years, without any Variation upon new Emissions, tho' in *Pennsylvania* the Paper Currency has at times increased from £15,000 the first Sum, to £600,000, and in *New-York* from £40,000 to £600,000 or near it. Nor has any Alteration been occasioned by the Paper Money in the Prices of the Necessaries of Life. When compared with Silver, they have been for the greatest Part of the Time no higher than before it was emitted, varying only by Plenty and Scarcity according to the Seasons, or by a less or greater foreign Demand. It has, indeed, been usual, with the Adversaries of a Paper Currency, to call every Rise of Exchange with *London*, a Depreciation of the Paper: But that Notion appears to be by no Means just: For if the Paper purchases every Thing but Bills of Exchange at the former Rates, and those Bills are not above one-tenth of what it is employed to purchase, then it may be more properly and truly said, that the Exchange has risen, than that the Paper has depreciated. And as a Proof of this, it is a certain Fact, that whenever in those Colonies Bills of Exchange have been dearer, the Purchaser has constantly been obliged to give more in Silver, as well as in Paper, for them, the Silver having gone Hand in Hand with the Paper, at the Rate above mentioned; and therefore it might as well have been said, that the *Silver* was depreciated.

There have been several different Schemes for furnishing the Colonies with Paper Money, that should not be a legal Tender, *viz.*

1. *To form a Bank, in Imitation of the Bank of England, with a sufficient Stock of Cash to pay the Bills on Sight.*

This has been often proposed, but appears impracticable

under the present Circumstances of the Colony Trade, which, as is said above, draws all their Cash to Britain, and would soon strip the Bank.

2. *To raise a Fund by some yearly Tax, securely lodg'd in the Bank of England as it arises, which should, during the Term of Years for which the Paper Bills are to be current, accumulate to a Sum sufficient to discharge them all at their original Value.*

This has been tried in *Maryland*, and the Bills so funded, were issued without being made a general legal Tender; the Event was, that as Notes payable in Time are naturally subject to a Discount proportioned to the Time, so these Bills fell at the Beginning of the Term so low, as that *Twenty Pounds* of them became worth no more than *Twelve Pounds* in the Bills of *Pennsylvania*, the next neighbouring Province; though both had been struck near the same Time, at the same nominal Value, but the latter was supported by the general legal Tender. The *Maryland* Bills, however, began to rise as the Term shortened, and towards the End recover'd their full Value. But, as a depreciating Currency injures Creditors, this injured Debtors; and by its continually changing Value appears a Currency unfit for the Purpose of Money, which should be as fixed as possible in its own Value, because it is to be the Measure of the Value of other Things.

3. *To make the Bills carry an Interest sufficient to support their Value.*

This too has been tried in some of the *New-England* Colonies; but Inconveniencies were found to attend it. The Bills, to fit them for a Currency, are obliged to be of various Denominations, and some very low, for the Sake of

Change; there are of them from *Ten Pounds* down to *Three pence.* When they first come abroad they pass easily, and answer the Purpose well for a few Months; but as soon as the Interest becomes worth computing, the Calculation of it on every little Bill that makes up a Sum between the Dealer and his Customers in Shops, Warehouses and Markets, takes up much Time to the great hindrance of Business. This Evil, however, soon gives Place to a worse, for the Bills are in a short Time gathered up, and hoarded, it being a very tempting Advantage, to have Money bearing Interest, and the Principal all the while in a Man's Power, ready for Bargains that may offer, which Money out on Mortgage is not. By this Means Numbers of People become Usurers with small Sums, who could not have found Persons to take such Sums of them upon Interest, giving good Security; and would therefore not have thought of it, but would have employed the Money, if it had been of the common Kind in some Business. Thus Trade, instead of being increased by such Bills, is diminished, and by their being shut up in Chests the very End of making them, *viz.* to furnish a Medium of Commerce, is in a great Measure defeated.[1]

On the whole, no Method has hitherto been found to establish a Medium of Trade in lieu of Money, equal in all its Advantages to Bills of Credit, funded on sufficient Taxes for discharging it, or on Land Security, of double the Value for repaying it, at the End of the Term; and in the mean Time made a GENERAL LEGAL TENDER. The Experience of now

[1] I understand that Dr. Franklin is the friend who assisted Governor Pownall in drawing up a plan for a general paper currency for America, to be established by the British government. See Pownall's "Administration of the Colonies," 5th edition, pp. 199, 208. — V.

near Half a Century in the Middle Colonies, has convinced them of it among themselves; by the great Increase of their Settlements, Numbers, Buildings, Improvements, Agriculture, Shipping and Commerce. And the same Experience has satisfied the *British* Merchants who trade thither, that it has been greatly useful to them, and not in a single Instance prejudicial.

It is therefore hoped, that securing the full Discharge of *British* Debts, which are payable here, and in all Justice and Reason ought to be fully discharged here in Sterling Money, the Restraint on the legal Tender within the Colonies will be taken off, at least for those Colonies that desire it, and where the Merchants trading to them make no objection to it.

London, March 11, 1767.

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426. THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT [1]

To the Printer, —

It is reported, I know not with what Foundation, that there is an Intention of obliging the Americans to pay for all the Stamps they ought to have used, between the Commencement of the Act, and the Day on which the Repeal takes Place, viz. from the first of November 1765 to the first of May 1766; and this is to make part of an Act, which is to give Validity to the Writings and Law Proceedings, that contrary to Law have been executed without Stamps, and is to be the Condition on which they are to receive that Validity. Shall we

[1] Printed from Goddard's *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, March 23, 1767, where it was copied from the *Gazetteer*. — Ed.

then keep up for a Trifle the Heats and Animosities that have been occasioned by the Stamp Act? and lose all the Benefit of Harmony and good Understanding between the different Parts of the Empire, which were expected from a generous total Repeal? Is this Pittance likely to be a Whit more easily collected than the whole Duty? Where are Officers to be found who will undertake to collect it? Who is to protect them while they are about it? In my Opinion, it will meet with the same Opposition, and be attended with the same Mischiefs that would have attended an Enforcement of the Act entire.

But I hear, that this is thought necessary, to raise a Fund for defraying the Expence that has been incurred by stamping so much Paper and Parchment for the Use of America, which they have refused to take and turn'd upon our Hands; and that since they are highly favour'd by the Repeal, they cannot with any Face of Decency refuse to make good the Charges we have been at on their Account. The whole Proceeding would put one in Mind of the Frenchman that used to accost English and other Strangers on the Pont-Neuf,[1] with many Compliments, and a red hot Iron in his Hand; *Pray Monsieur Anglois*, says he, *Do me the Favour to let me have the Honour of thrusting this hot Iron into your Backside?* Zoons, what does the Fellow mean! Begone with your Iron or I'll break your Head! *Nay Monsieur*, replies he, *if you do not chuse it, I do not insist upon it. But at least, you will in Justice have the Goodness to pay me something for the heating of my Iron.*

F. B.

[1] A bridge over the River Seine, leading to Paris. — F.

N. B. The Project of the Act was really as mentioned above, but altered afterwards in the House, so as to be a total Indemnification, without the Payment of any Money at all. [Ed. of the *Chronicle.*]

427. TO LORD KAMES[1]

London, April 11, 1767.

My dear Lord, —

I received your obliging favour of January the 19th. You have kindly relieved me from the pain I had long been under. You are goodness itself. I ought to have answered yours of December 25. 1765. I never received a letter that contained sentiments more suitable to my own. It found me under much agitation of mind on the very important subject it treated. It fortified me greatly in the judgment I was inclined to form (though contrary to the general vogue) on the then delicate and critical situation of affairs between Great Britain and her Colonies, and on that weighty point, their *Union*. You guessed aright in supposing that I would not be a *mute in that play*. I was extremely busy, attending Members of both Houses, informing, explaining, consulting, disputing, in a continual hurry from morning to night, till the affair was happily ended. During the course of it, being called before the House of Commons, I spoke my mind pretty freely. Inclosed I send you the imperfect account that was taken of that examination. "You will there see how entirely we agree, except in a point of fact, of which you could not but be misinformed; the papers at that time being full of mistaken assertions, that the colonies had been the cause of the war,

[1] From "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Honourable Henry Home of Kames." Vol. II, p. 75. — Ed.

and had ungratefully refused to bear any part of the expence of it.

I send it you now, because I apprehend some late incidents are likely to revive the contest between the two countries. I fear it will be a mischievous one. It becomes a matter of great importance that clear ideas should be formed on solid principles, both in Britain and America, of the true political relation between them, and the mutual duties belonging to that relation. Till this is done, they will be often jarring. I know none whose knowledge, sagacity and impartiality qualify him so thoroughly for such a service, as yours do you. I wish therefore you would consider it. You may thereby be the happy instrument of great good to the nation, and of preventing much mischief and bloodshed. I am fully persuaded with you, that a *Consolidating Union*, by a fair and equal representation of all the parts of this empire in Parliament, is the only firm basis on which its political grandeur and prosperity can be founded. Ireland once wished it, but now rejects it. The time has been, when the colonies might have been pleased with it: they are now *indifferent* about it; and if it is much longer delayed, they too will *refuse* it. But the pride of this people cannot bear the thought of it, and therefore it will be delayed. Every man in England seems to consider himself as a piece of a sovereign over America; seems to jostle himself into the throne with the King, and talks of *our subjects in the Colonies*. The Parliament cannot well and wisely make laws suited to the Colonies, without being properly and truly informed of their circumstances, abilities, temper, &c. This it cannot be, without representatives from thence: and yet it is fond of this power, and averse to the only means of acquiring the necessary

knowledge for exercising it; which is desiring to be *omnipotent*, without being *omniscient*.

I have mentioned that the contest is likely to be revived. It is on this occasion. In the same session with the stamp act, an act was passed to regulate the quartering of soldiers in America; when the bill was first brought in, it contained a clause, empowering the officers to quarter their soldiers in private houses: this we warmly opposed, and got it omitted. The bill passed, however, with a clause, that empty houses, barns, &c., should be hired for them, and that the respective provinces where they were should pay the expence and furnish firing, bedding, drink, and some other articles to the soldiers *gratis*. There is no way for any province to do this, but by the Assembly's making a law to raise the money. The Pennsylvanian Assembly has made such a law: the New York Assembly has refused to do it: and now all the talk here is of sending a force to compel them.

The reasons given by the Assembly to the Governor, for the refusal, are, that they understand the act to mean the furnishing such things to soldiers, only while on their march through the country, and not to great bodies of soldiers, to be fixt as at present, in the province; the burthen in the latter case being greater than the inhabitants can bear: That it would put it in the power of the Captain-General to oppress the province at pleasure, &c. But there is supposed to be another reason at bottom, which they intimate, though they do not plainly express it; to wit, that it is of the nature of an *internal tax* laid on them by Parliament, which has no right so to do. Their refusal is here called *Rebellion*, and punishment is thought of.

Now waving that point of right, and supposing the Legis-

latures in America subordinate to the Legislature of Great Britain, one might conceive, I think, a power in the superior Legislature to forbid the inferior Legislatures making particular laws; but to enjoin it to make a particular law contrary to its own judgment, seems improper; an Assembly or Parliament not being an *executive* officer of Government, whose duty it is, in law-making, to obey orders, but a *deliberative* body, who are to consider what comes before them, its propriety, practicability, or possibility, and to determine accordingly: The very nature of a Parliament seems to be destroyed, by supposing it may be bound, and compelled by a law of a superior Parliament, to make a law contrary to its own judgment.

Indeed, the act of Parliament in question has not, as in other acts, when a duty is enjoined, directed a penalty on neglect or refusal, and a mode of recovering that penalty. It seems, therefore, to the people in America as a mere requisition, which they are at liberty to comply with or not, as it may suit or not suit the different circumstances of different provinces. Pennsylvania has therefore voluntarily complied. New York, as I said before, has refused. The Ministry that made the act, and all their adherents, call for vengeance. The present Ministry are perplext, and the measures they will finally take on the occasion, are yet unknown. But sure I am, that, if *Force* is used, great mischief will ensue; the affections of the people of America to this country will be alienated; your commerce will be diminished; and a total separation of interests be the final consequence.

It is a common, but mistaken notion here, that the Colonies were planted at the expence of Parliament, and that therefore the Parliament has a right to tax them, &c. The truth is,

they were planted at the expence of private adventurers, who went over there to settle, with leave of the King, given by charter. On receiving this leave, and those charters, the adventurers voluntarily engaged to remain the King's subjects, though in a foreign country; a country which had not been conquered by either King or Parliament, but was possessed by a free people.

When our planters arrived, they purchased the lands of the natives, without putting King or Parliament to any expence. Parliament had no hand in their settlement, was never so much as consulted about their constitution, and took no kind of notice of them, till many years after they were established. I except only the two modern Colonies, or rather attempts to make Colonies, (for they succeed but poorly, and as yet hardly deserve the name of Colonies), I mean Georgia and Nova Scotia, which have hitherto been little better than Parliamentary jobs. Thus all the colonies acknowledge the King as their sovereign; his Governors there represent his person: Laws are made by their Assemblies or little Parliaments, with the Governor's assent, subject still to the King's pleasure to confirm or annul them: Suits arising in the Colonies, and differences between Colony and Colony, are determined by the King in Council. In this view, they seem so many separate little states, subject to the same Prince. The *sovereignty of the* King is therefore easily understood. But nothing is more common here than to talk of the *sovereignty* of PARLIAMENT, and the *sovereignty of* THIS NATION over the Colonies; a kind of sovereignty, the idea of which is not so clear, nor does it clearly appear on what foundation it is established. On the other hand, it seems necessary for the common good of the empire, that a

power be lodged somewhere, to regulate its general commerce: this can be placed nowhere so properly as in the Parliament of Great Britain; and therefore, though that power has in some instances been executed with great partiality to Britain, and prejudice to the Colonies, they have nevertheless always submitted to it. Custom-houses are established in all of them, by virtue of laws made here, and the duties constantly paid, except by a few smugglers, such as are here and in all countries; but internal taxes laid on them by Parliament, are still and ever will be objected to, for the reasons that you will see in the mentioned Examination.

Upon the whole, I have lived so great a part of my life in Britain, and have formed so many friendships in it, that I love it, and sincerely wish it prosperity; and therefore wish to see that Union, on which alone I think it can be secured and established. As to America, the advantages of such a union to her are not so apparent. She may suffer at present under the arbitrary power of this country; she may suffer for a while in a separation from it; but these are temporary evils that she will outgrow. Scotland and Ireland are differently circumstanced. Confined by the sea, they can scarcely increase in numbers, wealth and strength, so as to overbalance England. But America, an immense territory, favoured by Nature with all advantages of climate, soil, great navigable rivers, and lakes, &c. must become a great country, populous and mighty; and will, in a less time than is generally conceived, be able to shake off any shackles that may be imposed on her, and perhaps place them on the imposers. In the mean time, every act of oppression will sour their tempers, lessen greatly, if not annihilate the profits of your commerce with them, and hasten their final revolt;

for the seeds of liberty are universally found there, and nothing can eradicate them. And yet, there remains among that people, so much respect, veneration and affection for Britain, that, if cultivated prudently, with kind usage, and tenderness for their privileges, they might be easily governed still for ages, without force, or any considerable expence. But I do not see here a sufficient quantity of the wisdom, that is necessary to produce such a conduct, and I lament the want of it.

I borrowed at Millar's the new edition of your *Principles of Equity*, and have read with great pleasure the preliminary discourse on the Principles of Morality. I have never before met with any thing so satisfactory on the subject. While reading it, I made a few remarks as I went along. They are not of much importance, but I send you the paper.

I know the lady you mention;[1] having, when in England before, met her once or twice at Lord Bath's. I remember I then entertained the same opinion of her that you express. On the strength of your kind recommendation, I purpose soon to wait on her.

This is unexpectedly grown a long letter. The visit to Scotland, and the *Art of Virtue*, we will talk of hereafter. It is now time to say, that I am, with increasing esteem and affection, my dear friend, yours ever,[2] B. FRANKLIN.

[1] Mrs. Montagu. — ED.

[2] "This excellent letter, as appears by a subsequent one, from the same hand, was in all probability intercepted, as it was not received by Lord Kames in the regular course of communication. Dr. Franklin, however, having preserved a copy, transmitted it two years afterwards to his correspondent. The opinions it conveyed were thus probably well known to the persons at the head of administration. It had been happy, if they had paid them that attention, which the wisdom of the counsels they contained deserved." — Tytler's "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Honourable Henry Home of Kames," Vol. II, pp. 99, 112. — ED.

428. TO JOHN ROSS[1]

London, April 11, 1767.

Dear Sir, —

I received your favour of December 8th and February 22d, and thank you for the particular accounts you send me of affairs on your side the water, which are very agreeable to me to read.

Here public affairs are in great disorder; a strong opposition against the ministry, which, at the same time, is thought not to be well united; and daily apprehensions of new changes make it extremely difficult to get forward with business. We must use patience. This satisfaction we have, that there is scarce a man of weight, in or out of the ministry, that has not now a favourable opinion of the proposed change of government in the Proprietary colonies; but during the present violent heats, occasioned by some conduct of the Assemblies of New York and Boston, and which the opposition aggravate highly in order to distress the friends of America in the present ministry, nothing so little interesting to them as our application can get forward.

Your messages on the Circuit-Bill are not yet arrived. I much want to see them.

I send you a little essay of an inscription to the memory of my departed, amiable young friend, whose loss I deplore with you most sincerely. If it has been long coming to your hand, I hope that has occasioned your being furnished with another and a better. The style is simple and plain, and more proper for such things than affected ornamental expression.

[1] From "Life and Correspondence of George Read, by William Thompson Read," Phila., 1870, p. 47. — Ed.

I am looking out for a chariot for you, which I shall send you soon as possible.

With great esteem, I am, dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

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429. TO CADWALLADER EVANS[1]

London, May 5, 1767.

DEAR DOCTOR,

I received your obliging favour of May 16th. I am always glad to hear from you, when you have leisure to write, and I expect no apologies for your not writing. I wish all correspondence was on the foot of writing and answering when one can, or when one is disposed to it, without the compulsions of ceremony. I am pleased with your scheme of a Medical Library at the Hospital; and I fancy I can procure you some donations among my medical friends here, if you will send me a catalogue of what books you already have. Enclosed I send you the only book of the kind in my possession here, having just received it as a present from the author. It is not yet published to be sold, and will not be for some time, till the second part is ready to accompany it.

I thank you for your remarks on the gout. They may be useful to me, who have already had some touches of that distemper. As to Lord Chatham, it is said that his constitution is totally destroyed and gone, partly through the violence of the disease, and partly by his own continual quacking with it. There is at present no access to him. He is said to be not capable of receiving, any more than of giving, advice.

[1] First printed by Sparks.

But still there is such a deference paid to him, that much business is delayed on his account, that so when entered on it may have the strength of his concurrence, or not be liable to his reprehension, if he should recover his ability and activity. The ministry, we at present have, has not been looked upon, either by itself or others, as settled, which is another cause of postponing every thing not immediately necessary to be considered. New men, and perhaps new measures, are often expected and apprehended, whence arise continual cabals, factions, and intrigues among the outs and ins, that keep every thing in confusion. And when affairs will mend is very uncertain. With great esteem I am, dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. Franklin.

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430. TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY[1]

London, June 13, 1767.

Dear Sir,

In my last of May 20th, I mentioned my hopes that we should at length get over all obstructions to the repeal of the act restraining the legal tender of paper money; but those hopes are now greatly lessened.

The ministry had agreed to the repeal, and the notion that had possessed them, that they might make a revenue from paper money in appropriating the interest by Parliament, was pretty well removed by my assuring them, that it was my opinion no colony would make money on those terms, and that the benefits arising to the commerce of this country in America from a plentiful currency would therefore be lost, and the

[1] Printed from "The Works of Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila. 1817, Vol. VI, p. 245. Galloway was Speaker of the Assembly. — Ed.

repeal answer no end, if the Assemblies were not allowed to appropriate the interest themselves; that the crown might get a great share upon occasional requisitions, I made no doubt, by voluntary appropriations of the Assemblies; but they would never establish such funds as to make themselves unnecessary to government. Those and other reasons, that were urged, seemed to satisfy them, so that we began to think all would go on smoothly, and the merchants prepared their petition, on which the repeal was to be founded. But in the House, when the chancellor of the Exchequer had gone through his proposed American revenue, viz. by duties on glass, china ware, paper, pasteboard, colours, tea, &c., Grenville stood up and undervalued them all as trifles; and, says he, "I will tell the honourable gentleman of a revenue, that will produce something valuable in America; make paper money for the colonies, issue it upon loan there, take the interest, and apply it as you think proper." Mr. Townshend, finding the House listened to this and seemed to like it, stood up again and said, "that was a proposition of his own, which he had intended to make with the rest, but it had slipt his memory, and the gentleman, who must have heard of it, now unfairly would take advantage of that slip and make a merit to himself of a proposition that was another's, and as a proof of it, assured the House a bill was prepared for the purpose, and would be laid before them."

This startled all our friends; and the merchants concluded to keep back their petition for a while, till things appeared a little clearer, lest their friends in America should blame them, as having furnished foundation for an act, that must have been disagreeable to the colonies. I found the rest of the ministry did not like this proceeding of the chancellor's, but

there was no going on with our scheme against his declaration, and, as he daily talked of resigning, there being no good agreement between him and the rest, and as we found the general prejudice against the colonies so strong in the House, that any thing in the shape of a favour to them all was like to meet with opposition, whether he was out or in, I proposed to Mr. Jackson the putting our colony foremost, as we stood in a pretty good light, and asking the favour for us alone. This he agreed might be proper, in case the chancellor should go out, and undertook to bring in a bill for that purpose, provided the Philadelphia merchants would petition for it, and he wished to have such a petition ready to present, if an opening for it should offer. Accordingly I applied to them, and prepared a draft of a petition for them to sign, a copy of which I send you inclosed. They seemed generally for the measure; but apprehending the merchants of the other colonies, who had hitherto gone hand in hand with us in all American affairs, might take umbrage if we now separated from them, it was thought right to call a meeting of the whole to consult upon this proposal.

At this meeting I represented to them, as the ground of this measure, that, the colonies being generally out of favour at present, any hard clause relating to paper money in the repealing bill will be more easily received in Parliament, if the bill related to all the colonies: that Pennsylvania, being in some degree of favour, might possibly alone obtain a better act than the whole could do, as it might by government be thought as good policy to show favour where there had been the reverse; that a good act obtained by Pennsylvania might another year, when the resentment against the colonies should be abated, be made use of as a precedent, &c. &c. But after

a good deal of debate it was finally concluded not to precipitate matters, it being very dangerous by any kind of petition to furnish the chancellor with a horse on which he could put what saddle he thought fit: The other merchants seemed rather averse to the Pennsylvania merchants proceeding alone, but said they were certainly at liberty to do as they thought proper. The conclusion of the Pennsylvania merchants was to wait a while, holding the separate petition ready to sign and present, if a proper opening should appear this session, but otherwise to reserve it to the next, when the complexion of ministers and measures may probably be changed. And as this session now draws to a conclusion, I begin to think nothing will be farther done in it this year.

Mentioning the merchants, puts me in mind of some discourse I heard among them, that was by no means agreeable. It was said that in the opposition they gave the Stamp Act, and their endeavours to obtain the repeal, they had spent at their meetings, and in expresses to all parts of this country, and for a vessel to carry the joyful news to North America, and in the entertainments given our friends of both Houses, &c., near fifteen hundred pounds; that for all this, except from the little colony of Rhode Island, they had not received as much as a *thank ye*. That on the contrary the circular letters they had written with the best intentions to the merchants of the several colonies, containing their best and most friendly advice, were either answered with unkind reflections, or contemptuously left without answer. And that the captain of the vessel, they sent express with the news, having met with misfortunes, that obliged him to travel by land through all the colonies from New Hampshire to Pennsylvania, was everywhere treated with neglect and contempt, instead of

civility and hospitality; and nowhere more than at Philadelphia, where, though he delivered letters to the merchants, that must make him and his errand known to them, no one took the least notice of him. I own I was ashamed to hear all this, but hope there is some mistake in it. I should not have troubled you with this account, but that I think we stand in truth greatly obliged to the merchants, who are a very respectable body, and whose friendship is worth preserving, as it may greatly help us on future occasions; and therefore I wish some decent acknowledgments or thanks were sent from the Assemblies of the colonies, since their correspondents have omitted it.

I have said the less of late in my letters concerning the petitions, because I hoped this summer to have an opportunity of communicating every thing *vivâ voce*, and there are particulars that cannot safely be trusted to paper. Perhaps I may be more determined as to returning or staying another winter, when I receive my next letters from you and my other friends in Philadelphia.

We got the chancellor to drop his salt duty. And the merchants trading to Portugal and Spain, he says, have made such a clamour about the intention of suffering ships to go directly with wine, fruit, and oil, from those countries to America, that he has dropped that scheme, and we are it seems to labour a little longer under the inconveniences of the restraint.

It is said the bill to suspend the legislatures of New York and Georgia, till they comply with the act of Parliament for quartering soldiers, will pass this session. I fear that imprudencies on both sides may, step by step, bring on the most mischievous consequences. It is imagined here, that this

act will enforce immediate compliance; and if the people should be quiet, content themselves with the laws they have, and let the matter rest, till in some future war the King wanting aids from them, and finding himself restrained in his legislation by the act as much as the people, shall think fit by his ministers to propose the repeal, the Parliament will be greatly disappointed; and perhaps it may take this turn. I wish nothing worse may happen.

The present ministry will probably continue through this session. But their disagreement, with the total inability of Lord Chatham, through sickness, to do any business, must bring on some change before next winter. I wish it may be for the better, but fear the contrary.

Please to present my dutiful respects to the Assembly, and believe me ever, dear Sir, your and the Committee's most obedient and faithful humble servant,

B. Franklin.

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431. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON[1] (P. C.)

Craven Street, June 17, 1767.

We were greatly disappointed yesterday, that we had not the Pleasure, promis'd us, of our dear Polly's Company. Your good Mother would have me write a Line in Answer to your Letter. A Muse, you must know, visited me this Morning! I see you are surpriz'd, as I was. I never saw one before. And shall never see another. So I took the Opportunity of her Help to put the Answer into Verse, because I was some Verse in your Debt ever since you sent me the last Pair of Garters.

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — Ed.

This Muse appear'd to be no Housewife. I suppose few of them are. She was *drest* (if the Expression is allowable) in an *Undress*, a kind of slatternly *Negligée*, neither neat nor clean, nor well made; and she has given the same sort of Dress to my Piece. On reviewing it, I would have reform'd the Lines, and made them all of a Length, as I am told Lines ought to be; but I find I can't lengthen the short ones without stretching them on the Rack, and I think it would be equally cruel to cut off any Part of the long ones. Besides the Superfluity of *these* makes up for the Deficiency of *those;* and so, from a Principle of Justice, I leave them at full Length, that I may give you, at least in one Sense of the Word, *good Measure.* Adieu, my dear good Girl, and believe me ever your affectionate, faithful Friend,

B. Franklin.

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432. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, June 22. 1767

My dear Child,

Capt. Falkener is arriv'd, and came yesterday to see me, and bring my Letters. I was extreamly glad of yours, because I had none by the Packet. It seems now as if I should stay here another Winter, and therefore I must leave it to your Judgment to act in the Affair of your Daughter's Match, as shall seem best. If you think it a suitable one, I suppose the sooner it is compleated the better. In that case, I would only advise that you do not make an expensive feasting Wedding, but conduct every thing with Frugality and Œconomy, which our Circumstances really now require to be observed in all our Expences: For since my Partnership with Mr. Hall is expired, a great Source of our Income is cut off;

and if I should lose the PostOffice, which among the many Changes here is far from being unlikely, we should be reduc'd to our Rents and Interest of Money for a Subsistence, which will by no means afford the chargeable Housekeeping and Entertainments we have been used to; — for my own Part I live here as frugally as possible not to be destitute of the Comforts of Life, making no Dinners for anybody, and contenting myself with a single Dish when I dine at home; and yet such is the Dearness of Living here in every Article, that my Expences amaze me. I see too by the Sums you have received in my Absence, that yours are very great, and I am very sensible that your Situation naturally brings you a great many Visitors, which occasion an Expence not easily to be avoided especially when one has been long in the Practice and Habit of it: — But when People's Incomes are lessened, if they cannot proportionably lessen their Outgoings, they must come to Poverty. If we were young enough to begin Business again, it might be another Matter; — but I doubt we are past it; and Business not well managed ruins one faster than no Business. In short, with Frugality and prudent Care we may subsist decently on what we have, and leave it entire to our Children: — but without such Care, we shall not be able to keep it together; it will melt away like Butter in the Sunshine; and we may live long enough to feel the miserable Consequences of our Indiscretion.

I know very little of the Gentleman [1] or his Character, nor can I at this Distance. I hope his Expectations are not great of any Fortune to be had with our Daughter before our Death. I can only say, that if he proves a good Husband to her, and a good Son to me, he shall find me as good a Father as I can be: — but at present I suppose you would agree with me,

[1] Richard Bache. — ED.

that we cannot do more than fit her out handsomely in Cloaths and Furniture, not exceeding in the whole Five Hundred Pounds, of Value. For the rest, they must depend as you and I did, on their own Industry and Care: as what remains in our Hands will be barely sufficient for our Support, and not enough for them when it comes to be divided at our Decease.

Having lately bought a Piece of fine Pocket Handkerchiefs, I send you 4 of them, being Half the Piece; and shall look out for the Quilts you mention, that is, Mrs. Stevenson will, and for the Muff & Snail for Sally. None of the things are yet come on shore.

I send you the little Shade that was copied from the great one. If it will be acceptable to my good Friend Mr. Roberts, pray give it to him. Our Polly's Match is quite broke off. The Difference was about Money-Matters. I am not displeas'd at it, as I did not much like the Man, thinking him a mean-spirited mercenary Fellow, and not worthy so valuable a Girl as she is in every Respect, Person, Fortune, Temper and excellent Understanding.

Sally Franklin is well; her Father who had not seen her for a twelvemonth, came lately & took her home with him for a few Weeks to see her Friends; — he is very desirous I should take her with me to America.

I suppose the blue Room is too blue, the wood being of the same Colour with the Paper, and so looks too dark. I would have you finish it as soon as you can, thus. Paint the Wainscot a dead white; Paper the Walls blue, & tack the gilt Border round just above the Surbase and under the Cornish. If the Paper is not equal Coloured when pasted on, let it be brush'd over again with the same Colour: — and let the

Papiér machée musical Figures be tack'd to the middle of the Cieling; — when this is done, I think it will look very well.

Who is the Mrs. Morris you mention, as Mother to Dr. Rush? I am glad my Recommendations were of any Service to him.

I am glad to hear that Sally keeps up and increases the Number of her Friends. The best Wishes of a fond Father for her Happiness always attend her. I am, my dear Debby, your affectionate Husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

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433. TO PETER COLLINSON[1]

London, July 13. 1767.

DEAR FRIEND: — I have heard of an account you lately received from Russia of some discovery of an ancient sepulchre in the frontiers of that country. I wish I could see that account. In the meantime I send you a passage I have met with in Herodotus, that most ancient historian, concerning the sepulchres of the Scythian kings, which may possibly throw some light on this discovery. The Boristhenes, you know, is a river that takes its rise in the north, and empties itself into the Euxine Sea. I am, as ever yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

The Sepulchres of the Scythian kings are in the country of the Gerrhians, where the Borysthenes is first known to be navigable. When their king dies, they dig a great hole in the ground, of a quadrangular form, and having received the body covered with wax, they open and cleanse the belly,

[1] From John Bigelow, "The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. X, p. 308. — ED.

filling the space with bruised cypress, incense, seeds of parsley, and aries. And after they have sewed up the belly again, they carry the body in a chariot to another province; where, those who receive it imitate the royal Scythians in the following custom: They cut off part of one ear: shave their heads: wound themselves on the arms, forehead, and nose; and pierce the left hand with an arrow. Having done thus, they accompany the chariot to another district; and this manner is observed in every province; till having carried the dead body of the king through all his dominions, they bury him in the country of the Gerrhians, who inhabit the remotest parts of the kingdom. Here they lay him in the sepulchre, upon a bed encompassed on all sides with spears, which they cover with timber, and spread a canopy over the whole monument. In the spaces that remain vacant, they place one of the king's concubines strangled; with a cup-bearer, a cook, a groom, a waiter, a messenger, certain horses, and some of all things necessary. To these they add cups of gold, because silver and brass are not used amongst them. This done, they throw up the earth with great diligence, and endeavor to raise the mount as high as possibly they can. — Herodotus, Book IV.

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434. TO SAMUEL FRANKLIN[1]

London, July 17, 1767.

Dear Cousin,

I should sooner have answered your kind letter of last year, but postponed it from time to time, having mislaid the print

[1] Samuel Franklin lived in Boston. He was the grandson of Benjamin Franklin, who was Dr. Franklin's uncle, and after whom he was named. This letter was first published by Sparks. — Ed.

I intended to send you, which I have now found and send herewith. I am glad to hear of the welfare of yourself and your family, which I hope will long continue. My love to them all.

It gives me pleasure whenever I find that my endeavours to serve America are acceptable to my friends there. Your kind notices of them are very obliging.

I find here but two of our relations remaining, that bear the name of Franklin, viz. Thomas Franklin of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, a dyer, and his daughter Sally Franklin, about fourteen years of age, who has been with me in London about a year, and sends her duty to you. Thomas Franklin is the grandson of John Franklin, your grandfather's brother. There are besides still living, Eleanor Morris, an old maiden lady, daughter of your grandfather's sister Hannah; and also Hannah Walker, granddaughter of his brother John. Mrs. Walker has three sons. She lives at Westbury, in Buckinghamshire, and Mrs. Morris with her. And these are the whole. It is thought best by my friends that I should continue here another winter. My best wishes attend you, being your affectionate kinsman,

B. FRANKLIN.

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435. TO RICHARD PRICE[1] (P. C.)

Craven Street, Saturday, Aug 1. — 1767.

REV^{D} AND DEAR SIR, — Last night I received a letter from Dr Robertson, acquainting me that the University of

[1] The original is in the possession of Walter Ashburner, Esq., of London, a descendant of Dr. Price's sister. A copy of this letter, together with eighty others addressed to Price, was presented to the M. H. S. by Mr. Norton. — ED.

Edinburgh have on my recommendation conferr'd the degree of D^r in Divinity upon the Revd Mr Cooper of Boston; an event, that when I last had the pleasure of seeing you, you may remember I was desirous of waiting for, before I should be concern'd in any new application of the same kind. And indeed as I have made three already, I begin to feel a little unwilling to apply again immediately to the same University in favour of another, lest they should think me troublesome, tho' they have hitherto been very obliging. And recollecting that you mentioned your having a correspondence with the Principal of the College at Glasgow, I now purpose applying to that University for Mr Elliot's [1] degree, if you approve of it, and will with Mr Radcliffe address your recommendation to the same place, to accompany mine. Please to present my respectful compliments to Mrs Price and Mrs Barker; and believe me, with sincere esteem, dear Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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436. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, Augt 5, 1767

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have now before me all your late Letters, and shall answer them Article by Article.

Captain Ourry din'd here a few Days since, and thanks you for remembring him, desiring his Respects to you and Sally. Mr. Strahan & Family, the same. I received the Bill sent by Mr. Potts, and suppose it will be duly paid. You will

[1] Andrew Eliot (1718–1778), pastor of the New North Church in Boston. The University of Edinburgh gave him the degree of D.D. in 1767. — ED.

return him the Overplus. I wish I could take my Passage this time with Capt. Falkener. I was on board the other day with Mr. and Mrs. West, Mrs. Stevenson and Mr. Hopkinson, to drink Tea. 'Tis a fine Ship, and I think it not unlikely that I may go with him next time, as he is a very kind, good Friend whom I much respect.

The Nocake proves very good, and I thank you for it.

I am glad you go sometimes to Burlington. The Harmony you mention in our Family and among our Children gives me great Pleasure. I am sorry to hear of the Death of our old Friend Debbey Norris. She was a worthy good Woman, and will be miss'd. If I can in any shape be of Service to Mr. Francis, you may depend I shall do it, being much concern'd for his Misfortune. I am told the Affair is like to turn out better for him than was expected. I will have the Shades done as you desire. Sally Franklin is now in the Country with her Father. She is an only Child, and a very good Girl.

I think you would like her, and her Father wishes I would take her over with me; but I object to it, as the Care of educating other People's Children is a Trust too weighty for us as we grow old. He is still a Widower, & is between 40 & 50. His Name is Thomas Franklin; how came you to call him Billy Franklin?

I receiv'd the Watch-Chain, which you say you send to be put to rights. I do not see what it wants. Mrs. Stevenson says it is too old-fashion'd for Sally, and advises sending the Watch also, to be chang'd away for a new Watch & Chain.

In your last Letters you say nothing concerning Mr. Bache. The Misfortune that has lately happened to his Affairs, tho' it may not lessen his Character as an honest or a Prudent man, will probably induce him to forbear entering hastily into

a State that must require a great Addition to his Expence, when he will be less able to supply it. If you think that in the mean time it will be some Amusement to Sally to visit her Friends here and return with me, I should have no Objection to her coming over with Capt. Falkener, provided Mrs. Falkener comes at the same time as is talk'd of. I think too it might be some Improvement to her.[1] I am at present meditating a Journey somewhere, perhaps to Bath & Bristol; as I begin to find a little Giddiness in my head, a token that I want the Exercise I have yearly been accustomed to. I long to see you & be with you, being as ever, my dear Debby, your affectionate Husband,

B. Franklin.

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437. TO GEORGE CROGHAN[2]

London, August 5, 1767.

Sir,

I return you many thanks for the box of elephants' tusks and grinders. They are extremely curious on many accounts; no living elephants having been seen in any part of America by any of the Europeans settled there, or remembered in any tradition of the Indians. It is also puzzling to conceive what should have brought so many of them to die on the same spot; and that no such remains should be found in any other part of the continent, except in that very distant country, Peru,

[1] She did not go to England, as is here proposed, but was married to Mr. Richard Bache on the 29th of October following. She was then twenty-three years old, having been born September 11th, 1744. — Ed.

[2] George Croghan (died 1782), British crown agent with the Indians. He had been for twenty years a trader among the Indians at the time this letter was written. See Introduction, Vol. I, pp. 85–86. See also letter to Abbé Chappe, January 31, 1768. — Ed.

from whence some grinders of the same kind formerly brought, are now in the museum of the Royal Society. The tusks agree with those of the African and Asiatic elephant in being nearly of the same form and texture, and some of them, notwithstanding the length of time they must have lain, being still good ivory. But the grinders differ, being full of knobs, like the grinders of a carnivorous animal; when those of the elephant, who eats only vegetables, are almost smooth. But then we know of no other animal with tusks like an elephant, to whom such grinders might belong.

It is remarkable, that elephants now inhabit naturally only hot countries where there is no winter, and yet these remains are found in a winter country; and it is no uncommon thing to find elephants' tusks in Siberia, in great quantities, when their rivers overflow, and wash away the earth, though Siberia is still more a wintry country than that on the Ohio; which looks as if the earth had anciently been in another position, and the climates differently placed from what they are at present.

With great regard, I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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438. TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY[1]

London, August 8, 1767.

DEAR SIR,

I have before me your favours of April 23, May 21 and 26. The confusion among our great men still continues as much as ever, and a melancholy thing it is to consider, that, instead

[1] From "The Works of Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 249. — ED.

of employing the present leisure of peace in such measures as might extend our commerce, pay off our debts, secure allies, and increase the strength and ability of the nation to support a future war, the whole seems to be wasted in party contentions about places of power and profit, in court intrigues and cabals, and in abusing one another.

There has lately been an attempt to make a kind of coalition of parties in a new ministry, but it fell through, and the present set is like to continue for some time longer, which I am rather pleased with, as some of those who were proposed to be introduced are professed adversaries to America, which is now made one of the distinctions of party here; those who have in the two last sessions shown a disposition to favour us, being called by way of reproach, Americans; while the others, adherents to Grenville and Bedford, value themselves on being true to the interests of Britain, and zealous for maintaining its dignity and sovereignty over the colonies.

This distinction will, it is apprehended, be carried much higher in the next session, for the political purpose of influencing the ensuing election. It is already given out that the compliance of New York, in providing for the quarters, without taking notice of its being done in obedience to the act of Parliament, is evasive and unsatisfactory. That it is high time to put the right and power of this country to tax the colonies out of dispute, by an act of taxation, effectually carried into execution, and that all the colonies should be obliged explicitly to acknowledge that right. Every step is taking to render the taxing America a popular measure here, by continually insisting on the topics of our wealth and flourishing circumstances, while this country is loaded with debt, great part of it incurred on our account, the distress of the poor here

by the multitude and weight of taxes, &c. &c.; and though the traders and manufacturers may possibly be kept in our interest, the idea of an American tax is very pleasing to the landed men, who therefore readily receive and propagate these sentiments wherever they have influence.

If such a bill should be brought in, it is hard to say what would be the event of it, or what would be the effects. Those who oppose it, though they should be strong enough to throw it out, would be stigmatized as Americans, betrayers of Old England, &c., and perhaps, our friends by this means being excluded, a majority of our adversaries may get in, and then the act infallibly passes the following session. To avoid the danger of such exclusion, perhaps little opposition will be given, and then it passes immediately. I know not what to advise on this occasion, but that we should all do our endeavours on both sides the water to lessen the present unpopularity of the American cause, conciliate the affections of people here towards us, increase by all possible means the number of our friends, and be careful not to weaken their hands and strengthen those of our enemies, by rash proceedings on our side, the mischiefs of which are inconceivable. Some of our friends have thought that a publication of my *Examination* here, might answer some of the above purposes, by removing prejudices, refuting falsehoods, and demonstrating our merits with regard to this country. It is accordingly printed, and has a great run. I have another piece in hand, which I intend to put out about the time of the meeting of Parliament, if those I consult with shall judge that it may be of service.[1]

The next session of Parliament will probably be a short

[1] Probably "Causes of the American Discontents before 1768." — Ed.

one, on account of the following election. And I am now advised by some of our great friends here to see that out, not returning to America till the spring. My presence indeed is necessary there to settle some private affairs. Unforeseen and unavoidable difficulties have hitherto obstructed our proceedings in the main intent of my coming over, and perhaps (though I think my being here has not been altogether unserviceable) our friends in the Assembly may begin to be discouraged and tired of the expense. If that should be the case, I would not have you propose to continue me as agent at the meeting of the new Assembly: my endeavours to serve the province, in what I may while I remain here, shall not be lessened by that omission.

I am glad you have made a trial of paper money, *not a legal tender.* The quantity being small, may perhaps be kept in full credit notwithstanding; and if that can be avoided, I am not for applying here again very soon for a repeal of the restraining act. I am afraid an ill use will be made of it. The plan of our adversaries is to render Assemblies in America useless; and to have a revenue independent of their grants, for all the purposes of their defence, and supporting governments among them. It is our interest to prevent this. And, that they may not lay hold of our necessities for paper money, to draw a revenue from that article, whenever they grant us the liberty we want, of making it a legal tender, I wish some other method may be fallen upon of supporting its credit. What think you of getting all the merchants, traders, and principal people of all sorts, to join in petitions to the Assembly for a moderate emission, the petition being accompanied with a mutual engagement to take it in all dealings at the rates fixed by law? Such an engagement had a great effect in

fixing the value and rates of our gold and silver. Or, perhaps, a bank might be established that would answer all purposes. Indeed I think with you, that those merchants here, who have made difficulties on the subject of the legal tender, have not understood their own interest. For there can be no doubt, that should a scarcity of money continue among us, we shall take off less of their merchandise, and attend more to manufacturing, and raising the necessaries and superfluities of life among ourselves, which we now receive from them. And perhaps this consequence would attend our making no paper money at all of any sort, that being thus by want of cash driven to industry and frugality, we should gradually become more rich without their trade, than we can possibly be with it, and, by keeping in the country the real cash that comes into it, have in time a quantity sufficient for all our occasions. But I suppose our people will scarce have patience to wait for this.

I have received the printed votes, but not the laws. I hear nothing yet of any objection made by the Proprietaries to any of them at the Board of Trade.

Please to present my duty to the Assembly, with thanks for their care of me, and assure them of my most faithful services. With sincerest esteem and respect, I am, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. Franklin.

439. TO JOHN CANTON[1]

Craven Street, Aug. 25, 1767.

Dear Sir

When I was at Paris about 10 Days since, I was told that a Comet was then visible with a Tail of considerable Length. If it has not been yet observed or heard of here, perhaps this little Notice may be agreable to you. I return'd but last Night. I hope you & yours are well, being very sincerely

Your affectionate Friend
& Servant

B. Franklin.

I think it was said to be in some Part of the Bull, & in its Progress towards the Sun. M. Monnier discover'd & observ'd it.

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440. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN, GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY[2]

London, August 28, 1767.

Dear Son,

I have no letter of yours since my last, in which I answered all preceding ones.

Last week I dined at Lord Shelburne's, and had a long conversation with him and Mr. Conway (there being no other company) on the subject of reducing American expense. They have it in contemplation to return the management of

[1] There are nine letters and notes from Franklin to Canton in the "Canton Papers," collected by John Canton, M. A., F. R. S., and his son, William Canton, and given by Edwin Canton to the Royal Society, in 1870. — Ed.

[2] From "The Works of Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817 Vol. VI, p. 253. — Ed.

Indian affairs into the hands of the several provinces on which the nations border, that the colonies may bear the charge of treaties, &c., which they think will then be managed more frugally, the treasury being tired with the immense drafts of the superintendants, &c. I took the opportunity of urging it as one means of saving expense in supporting the out-posts, that a settlement should be made in the Illinois country; expatiated on the various advantages, viz. furnishing provisions cheaper to the garrisons, securing the country, retaining the trade, raising a strength there which on occasion of a future war, might easily be poured down the Mississippi upon the lower country, and into the Bay of Mexico, to be used against Cuba or Mexico itself. I mentioned your plan, its being approved by Sir William Johnson, the readiness and ability of the gentlemen concerned to carry the settlement into execution, with very little expense to the crown, &c. The secretaries appeared finally to be fully convinced, and there remained no obstacle but the Board of Trade, which was to be brought over privately, before the matter should be referred to them officially. In case of laying aside the superintendants, a provision was thought of for Sir William Johnson.

We had a good deal of farther discourse on American affairs, particularly on paper money: Lord Shelburne declared himself fully convinced of the utility of taking off the restraint, by my answer to the Report of the Board of Trade. General Conway had not seen it, and desired me to send it to him, which I did next morning. They gave me expectation of a repeal next session, Lord Clare being come over: but they said there was some difficulty with others at the Board, who had signed that Report; for there was a good deal in

what Soame Jenyns had laughingly said, when asked to concur in some measure, *I have no kind of objection to it, provided we have heretofore signed nothing to the contrary.*

In this conversation I did not forget our main Pennsylvania business, and I think made some farther progress, though but little. The two secretaries seemed intent upon preparing business for next Parliament, which makes me think, that the late projects of changes are now quite over, and that they expect to continue in place. But whether they will do much or little, I cannot say.

Du Guerchy,[1] the French ambassador, is gone home, and Monsieur Durand is left minister plenipotentiary. He is extremely curious to inform himself in the affairs of America; pretends to have a great esteem for me, on account of the abilities shown in my examination; has desired to have all my political writings, invited me to dine with him, was very inquisitive, treated me with great civility, makes me visits, &c. I fancy that intriguing nation would like very well to meddle on occasion, and blow up the coals between Britain and her colonies; but I hope we shall give them no opportunity.

I write this in a great hurry, being setting out in an hour on another journey with my steady, good friend, Sir John Pringle. We propose to visit Paris. Durand has given me letters of recommendation to the Lord knows who. I am told I shall meet with great respect there; but winds change, and perhaps it will be full as well if I do not. We shall be gone six weeks. I have a little private commission to transact, of which more another time.

[1] Claude-François-Louis Régnier, Comte de Guerchy (1715–1767), ambassador to London 1763–1767. — Ed.

Communicate nothing of this letter but privately to our friend Galloway. I am your affectionate father,

B. FRANKLIN.

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441. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON[1] (P. C.)

Paris, Sept. 14, 1767.

DEAR POLLY,

I am always pleas'd with a Letter from you, and I flatter myself you may be sometimes pleas'd in receiving one from me, tho' it should be of little Importance, such as this, which is to consist of a few occasional Remarks made here, and in my Journey hither.

Soon after I left you in that agreable Society at Bromley, I took the Resolution of making a Trip with Sir John Pringle into France. We set out the 28th past. All the way to Dover we were furnished with PostChaises, hung so as to lean forward, the Top coming down over one's Eyes, like a Hood, as if to prevent one's seeing the Country; which being one of my great Pleasures, I was engag'd in perpetual Disputes with the Innkeepers, Hostlers, and Postilions, about getting the Straps taken up a Hole or two before, and let down as much behind, they insisting that the Chaise leaning forward was an Ease to the Horses, and that the contrary would kill them. I suppose the chaise leaning forward looks to them like a Willingness to go forward, and that its hanging back shows a Reluctance. They added other Reasons, that were no Reasons at all, and made me, as upon a 100 other Occasions, almost wish that Mankind had never been endow'd with a reasoning Faculty, since they know so little how to make use of it, and so often mislead themselves by it, and that

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M. D. — ED.

they had been furnish'd with a good sensible Instinct instead of it.

At Dover, the next Morning, we embark'd for Calais with a Number of Passengers, who had never been before at sea. They would previously make a hearty Breakfast, because, if the Wind should fail, we might not get over till Supper time. Doubtless they thought that when they had paid for their Breakfast, they had a Right to it, and that, when they had swallowed it they were sure of it. But they had scarce been out half an Hour, before the Sea laid Claim to it, and they were oblig'd to deliver it up. So it seems there are Uncertainties, even beyond those between the Cup and the Lip. If ever you go to Sea, take my Advice, and live sparingly a Day or two beforehand. The Sickness, if any, will be lighter and sooner over. We got to Calais that Evening.

Various Impositions we suffer'd from Boatmen, Porters, &c. on both Sides the Water. I know not which are most rapacious, the English or French, but the latter have, with their Knavery, the most Politeness.

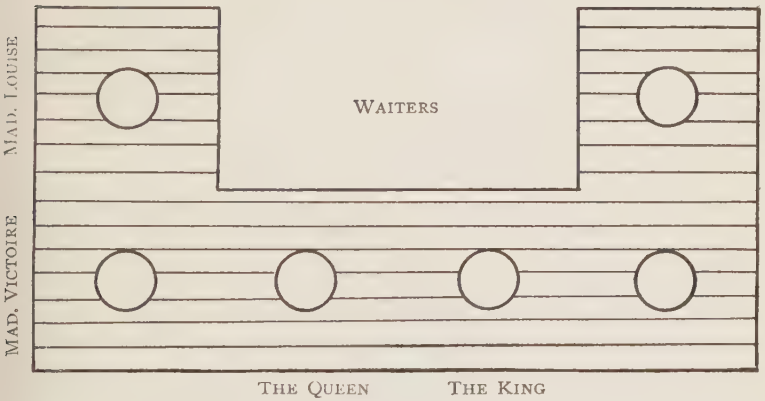
The Roads we found equally good with ours in England, in some Places pav'd with smooth Stone, like our new Streets, for many Miles together, and Rows of Trees on each Side, and yet there are no Turnpikes. But then the poor Peasants complain'd to us grievously, that they were oblig'd to work upon the Roads full two Months in the Year, without being paid for their Labour. Whether this is Truth, or whether, like Englishmen, they grumble Cause or no Cause, I have not yet been able fully to inform myself.

The Women we saw at Calais, on the Road, at Bouloigne, and in the Inns and Villages, were generally of dark Complexions; but arriving at Abbeville we found a sudden

Change, a Multitude of both Women and Men in that Place appearing remarkably fair. Whether this is owing to a small Colony of Spinners, Wool-combers, and Weavers, brought hither from Holland with the Woollen Manufacture about 60 Years ago; or to their being less expos'd to the Sun, than in other Places, their Business keeping them much within Doors, I know not. Perhaps as in some other Cases, different Causes may club in producing the Effect, but the Effect itself is certain. Never was I in a Place of greater Industry, Wheels and Looms going in every House.

As soon as we left Abbeville, the Swarthiness return'd. I speak generally, for here are some fair Women at Paris, who I think are not whiten'd by Art. As to Rouge, they don't pretend to imitate Nature in laying it on. There is no gradual Diminution of the Colour, from the full Bloom in the Middle of the Cheek to the faint Tint near the Sides, nor does it show itself differently in different Faces. I have not had the Honour of being at any Lady's Toylette to see how it is laid on, but I fancy I can tell you how it is or may be done. Cut a Hole of 3 Inches Diameter in a Piece of Paper; place it on the Side of your Face in such a Manner as that the Top of the Hole may be just under your Eye; then with a Brush dipt in the Colour, paint Face and Paper together; so when the Paper is taken off there will remain a round Patch of Red exactly the Form of the Hole. This is the Mode, from the Actresses on the Stage upwards thro' all Ranks of Ladies to the Princesses of the Blood, but it stops there, the Queen not using it, having in the Serenity, Complacence, and Benignity that shine so eminently in, or rather through her Countenance, sufficient Beauty, tho' now an old Woman, to do extreamly well without it.

You see I speak of the Queen as if I had seen her, and so I have; for you must know I have been at Court. We went to Versailles last Sunday, and had the Honour of being presented to the King; he spoke to both of us very graciously and chearfully, is a handsome Man, has a very lively Look, and appears younger than he is. In the Evening we were at the *Grand Couvert*, where the Family sup in Publick. The Form of their Sitting at the Table was this: The table was as you see half a Hollow Square, the Service Gold. When either made a Sign for Drink, the Word was given by



one of the Waiters; *A boire pour le Roy*, or, *A boire pour la Reine*. Then two persons within the Square approach'd, one with Wine the other with Water in *Caraffes;* each drank a little Glass of what he brought, and then put both the *Caraffes* with a Glass on a Salver, and presented it. Their Distance from each other was such, as that other Chairs might have been plac'd between any two of them. An Officer of the Court brought us up thro' the Crowd of Spectators, and plac'd Sir John so as to stand between the King and Madame Adelaide, and me between the Queen and Madame Victoire.

The King talk'd a good deal to Sir John, asking many Questions about our Royal Family; and did me too the Honour of taking some Notice of me; that's saying enough, for I would not have you think me so much pleas'd with this King and Queen, as to have a Whit less regard than I us'd to have for ours. No Frenchman shall go beyond me in thinking my own King and Queen the very best in the World, and the most amiable.

Versailles has had infinite Sums laid out in building it and supplying it with Water. Some say the Expences exceeded 80 Millions Sterling. The Range of Building is immense; the Garden-Front most magnificent, all of hewn Stone; the Number of Statues, Figures, Urns, &c., in Marble and Bronze of exquisite Workmanship, is beyond Conception. But the Waterworks are out of Repair, and so is great Part of the Front next the Town, looking with its shabby half-Brick Walls, and broken Windows, not much better than the Houses in Durham Yard. There is, in short, both at Versailles and Paris, a prodigious Mixture of Magnificence and Negligence, with every kind of Elegance except that of Cleanliness, and what we call *Tidyness*. Tho' I must do Paris the Justice to say, that in two Points of Cleanliness they exceed us. The Water they drink, tho' from the River, they render as pure as that of the best Spring, by filtring it thro' Cisterns fill'd with Sand; and the Streets by constant Sweeping are fit to walk in, tho' there is no pav'd footPath. Accordingly, many well-dress'd People are constantly seen walking in them. The Crowds of Coaches and Chairs for this Reason is not so great. Men, as well as Women, carry Umbrellas in their Hands, which they extend in case of Rain or two (sic) much sun; and a Man with an

Umbrella not taking up more than 3 foot square, or 9 square feet of the Street, when, if in a Coach, he would take up 240 square feet, you can easily conceive that tho' the Streets here are narrower they may be much less encumber'd. They are extreamly well pav'd, and the Stones, being generally Cubes, when worn on one Side, may be turn'd and become new.

The Civilities we everywhere receive give us the strongest Impressions of the French Politeness. It seems to be a Point settled here universally, that Strangers are to be treated with Respect; and one has just the same Deference shewn one here by being a Stranger, as in England by being a Lady. The Customhouse Officers at Port St. Denis, as we enter'd Paris, were about to seize 2 doz of excellent Bordeaux Wine given us at Boulogne, and which we brought with us; but, as soon as they found we were Strangers, it was immediately remitted on that Account. At the Church of Notre Dame, where we went to see a magnificent Illumination, with Figures, &c., for the deceas'd Dauphiness, we found an immense Crowd, who were kept out by Guards; but, the Officer being told that we were Strangers from England, he immediately admitted us, accompanied and show'd us every thing. Why don't we practise this Urbanity to Frenchmen? Why should they be allowed to outdo us in any thing?

Here is an Exhibition of Paintings like ours in London, to which Multitudes flock daily. I am not Connoisseur enough to judge which has most Merit. Every Night, Sundays not excepted here are Plays or Operas; and tho' the Weather has been hot, and the Houses full, one is not incommoded by the Heat so much as with us in Winter. They must have some Way of changing the Air, that we are not acquainted with. I shall enquire into it.

Travelling is one Way of lengthening Life, at least in Appearance. It is but about a Fortnight since we left London, but the Variety of Scenes we have gone through makes it seem equal to Six Months living in one Place. Perhaps I have suffered a greater Change, too, in my own Person, than I could have done in Six Years at home. I had not been here Six Days, before my Taylor and Perruquier had transform'd me into a Frenchman. Only think what a Figure I make in a little Bag-Wig and naked Ears! They told me I was become 20 Years younger, and look'd very galante; So being in Paris where the Mode is to be sacredly follow'd I was once very near making Love to my Friend's Wife.

This Letter shall cost you a Shilling, and you may consider it cheap, when you reflect, that it has cost me at least 50 Guineas to get into the Situation, that enables me to write it. Besides, I might, if I had staied at home, have won perhaps two Shillings of you at Cribbidge. By the Way, now I mention Cards, let me tell you that Quadrille is quite out of Fashion here, and English Whisk all the Mode at Paris and the Court.

And pray look upon it as no small Matter, that surrounded as I am by the Glories of this World, and Amusements of all Sorts, I remember you and Dolly and all the dear good Folks at Bromley. 'Tis true, I can't help it, but must and ever shall remember you all with Pleasure.

Need I add, that I am particularly, my dear good Friend, yours most affectionately,

B. Franklin.

442. *Of Lightning, and the Method (now used in America) of securing Buildings and Persons from its mischievous Effects.*[1]

Paris, Sept., 1767.

Experiments made in electricity first gave philosophers a suspicion that the matter of lightning was the same with the electric matter. Experiments afterwards made on lightning obtained from the clouds by pointed rods, received into bottles, and subjected to every trial, have since proved this suspicion to be perfectly well founded; and that whatever properties we find in electricity, are also the properties of lightning.

This matter of lightning, or of electricity, is an extream subtile fluid, penetrating other bodies, and subsisting in them, equally diffused.

When by any operation of art or nature, there happens to be a greater proportion of this fluid in one body than in another, the body which has most will communicate to that which has least, till the proportion becomes equal; provided the distance between them be not too great; or, if it is too great, till there be proper conductors to convey it from one to the other.

If the communication be through the air without any conductor, a bright light is seen between the bodies, and a sound is heard. In our small experiments we call this light and sound the electric spark and snap; but in the great operations of nature, the light is what we call *lightning*, and the sound (produced at the same time, tho' generally arriving

[1] From "Experiments and Observations on Electricity," London, 1769, p. 579. — Ed.

later at our ears than the light does to our eyes) is, with its echoes, called *thunder*.

If the communication of this fluid is by a conductor, it may be without either light or sound, the subtle fluid passing in the substance of the conductor.

If the conductor be good and of sufficient bigness, the fluid passes through it without hurting it. If otherwise, it is damaged or destroyed.

All metals, and water, are good conductors. Other bodies may become conductors by having some quantity of water in them, as wood, and other materials used in building, but not having much water in them, they are not good conductors, and therefore are often damaged in the operation.

Glass, wax, silk, wool, hair, feathers, and even wood, perfectly dry are non-conductors: that is, they resist instead of facilitating the passage of this suble (sic) fluid.

When this fluid has an opportunity of passing through two conductors, one good, and sufficient, as of metal, the other not so good, it passes in the best, and will follow it in any direction.

The distance at which a body charged with this fluid will discharge itself suddenly, striking through the air into another body that is not charged, or not so highly charg'd, is different according to the quantity of the fluid, the dimensions and form of the bodies themselves, and the state of the air between them. This distance, whatever it happens to be between any two bodies, is called their *striking distance*, as till they come within that distance of each other, no stroke will be made.

The clouds have often more of this fluid in proportion than the earth; in which case as soon as they come near enough

(that is, within the striking distance) or meet with a conductor, the fluid quits them and strikes into the earth. A cloud fully charged with this fluid, if so high as to be beyond the striking distance from the earth, passes quietly without making noise or giving light; unless it meets with other clouds that have less.

Tall trees, and lofty buildings, as the towers and spires of churches, become sometimes conductors between the clouds and the earth; but not being good ones, that is, not conveying the fluid freely, they are often damaged.

Buildings that have their roofs covered with lead, or other metal, and spouts of metal continued from the roof into the ground to carry off the water, are never hurt by lightning, as, whenever it falls on such a building, it passes in the metals and not in the walls.

When other buildings happen to be within the striking distance from such clouds, the fluid passes in the walls whether of wood, brick or stone, quitting the walls only when it can find better conductors near them, as metal rods, bolts, and hinges of windows or doors, gilding on wainscot, or frames of pictures; the silvering on the backs of looking-glasses; the wires for bells; and the bodies of animals, as containing watry fluids. And in passing thro' the house it follows the direction of these conductors, taking as many in it's way as can assist it in its passage, whether in a strait or crooked line, leaping from one to the other, if not far distant from each other, only rending the wall in the spaces where these partial good conductors are too distant from each other.

An iron rod being placed on the outside of a building, from the highest part continued down into the moist earth, in any direction, strait or crooked, following the form of

the roof or other parts of the building, will receive the lightning at its upper end, attracting it so as to prevent its striking any other part; and, affording it a good conveyance into the earth, will prevent its damaging any part of the building.

A small quantity of metal is found able to conduct a great quantity of this fluid. A wire no bigger than a goose quill, has been known to conduct (with safety to the building as far as the wire was continued) a quantity of lightning that did prodigious damage both above and below it; and probably larger rods are not necessary, tho' it is common in America, to make them of half an inch, some of three quarters, or an inch diameter.

The rod may be fastened to the wall, chimney, &c., with staples of iron. The lightning will not leave the rod (a good conductor), to pass into the wall (a bad conductor), through those staples. It would rather, if any were in the wall, pass out of it into the rod to get more readily by that conductor into the earth.

If the building be very large and extensive, two or more rods may be placed at different parts, for greater security.

Small ragged parts of clouds suspended in the air between the great body of clouds and the earth (like leaf gold in electrical experiments), often serve as partial conductors for the lightning, which proceeds from one of them to another, and by their help comes within the striking distance to the earth or a building. It therefore strikes through those conductors a building that would otherwise be out of the striking distance.

Long sharp points communicating with the earth, and presented to such parts of clouds, drawing silently from them the

fluid they are charged with, they are then attracted to the cloud, and may leave the distance so great as to be beyond the reach of striking.

It is therefore that we elevate the upper end of the rod six or eight feet above the highest part of the building, tapering it gradually to a fine sharp point, which is gilt to prevent its rusting.

Thus the pointed rod either prevents a stroke from the cloud, or, if a stroke is made, conducts it to the earth with safety to the building.

The lower end of the rod should enter the earth so deep as to come at the moist part, perhaps two or three feet; and, if bent when under the surface so as to go in a horizontal line six or eight feet from the wall, and then bent again downwards three or four feet, it will prevent damage to any of the stones of the foundation.

A person apprehensive of danger from lightning, happening during the time of thunder to be in a house not so secured, will do well to avoid sitting near the chimney, near a looking-glass, or any gilt pictures or wainscot; the safest place is in the middle of the room, (so it be not under a metal lustre suspended by a chain) sitting in one chair and laying the feet up in another. It is still safer to bring two or three mattrasses or beds into the middle of the room, and folding them up double, place the chair upon them; for they not being so good conductors as the walls, the lightning will not chuse an interrupted course through the air of the room and the bedding, when it can go thro' a continued better conductor the wall. But, where it can be had, a hamock or swinging bed, suspended by silk cords equally distant from the walls on every side, and from the cieling and floor above and

below, affords the safest situation a person can have in any room whatever; and what indeed may be deemed quite free from danger of any stroke by lightning.

B. F[RANKLIN.]

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443. ON SMUGGLING[1] (A. P. S.)

SIR,

There are many people that would be thought, and even think themselves, *honest Men*, who fail nevertheless in particular points of honesty, deviating from that Character sometimes by the prevalence of mode or custom, and sometimes thro' mere inattention; so that their honesty is *partial* only, and not *general* or universal. Thus one who would scorn to overreach you in a bargain, shall make no scruple of tricking you a little now and then at Cards. Another that plays with the utmost fairness, shall with great freedom cheat you in the sale of a horse. But there is no kind of dishonesty into which otherwise good people more easily and frequently fall, than that of defrauding Government of its revenues, by Smuggling when they have an opportunity, or encouraging Smugglers by buying their goods.

I fell into these reflections the other day on hearing two gentlemen of reputation discoursing about a small estate which one of them was inclined to sell and the other to buy; when the Seller, in recommending the Place, remark'd, that the Situation was very advantageous on this Account, that being on the Sea-Coast, in a Smuggling Country, one had

[1] This letter was addressed to the printer of *The London Chronicle*, and was published in that paper, November 24, 1767. A fragmentary draft of it in Franklin's handwriting, and a complete copy in another hand are in A. P. S. The passages enclosed in brackets are found only in the printed version. — ED.

frequent Opportunities of buying many of the expensive Articles used in a Family (such as Tea, Coffee, Chocolate, Brandy, Wines, Cambrics, Brussels Laces, French Silks, and all kinds of India Goods,) 20, 30, and in some articles 50 per cent cheaper than they could be had in the more interior Parts, where they must be bo't of Traders that paid Duty. The other *honest* Gentleman allow'd this to be an Advantage, but insisted, that the Seller, in the advanc'd Price he demanded on that Account, rated the Advantage much above its Value. And neither of them seem'd to think Dealing with Smugglers a Practice, that an *honest* Man (provided he got his Goods cheaper) had the least Reason to be asham'd of.

At a Time when the Load of our Publick Debt, and the heavy Expence of maintaining our Fleets and Armies to be ready for our Defence on Occasion, make it necessary, not only to continue old Taxes, but often to look out for new Ones, perhaps it may not be unuseful to state this Matter in a Light, that few seem to have consider'd it in.

The People of Great Britain, under the happy Constitution of this Country, have a Privilege few other Countries enjoy, that of chusing the third Branch of the Legislature, which Branch has alone the Power of regulating their Taxes. Then when the Government finds it necessary for the common Benefit, Advantage, and Safety of the Nation, for the Security of our Liberties, Property, Religion, and every thing that is dear to us, that certain Sums shall be yearly raised by Taxes, Duties, &c., and paid into the publick Treasury, thence to be dispens'd by Government for those purposes; ought not every *honest Man* freely and willingly to pay his just Proportion of this necessary Expence? Can he possibly preserve

a Right to that Character, if, by any Fraud, Stratagem, or Contrivance, he avoids that Payment in whole or in Part?

What should we think of a Companion, who, having sup'd with his Friends at a Tavern, and partaken equally of the Joys of the Evening with the rest of us, would nevertheless contrive by some Artifice to shift his share of the reckoning upon others, in order to go off scot free? If a man who practised this would when detected, be [deemed and] called a scoundrel, what ought he to be call'd, who can enjoy all the inestimable Benefits of Publick Society, and yet by Smuggling or dealing with Smugglers contrive to evade paying his just share of the Expence, as settled by his own Representatives in Parliament, and wrongfully throw it upon his honester, and perhaps, much poorer Neighbours? He will, perhaps, be ready to tell me, that he does not wrong his Neighbours, he scorns the imputation: He only cheats the King a little, who is very able to bear it. This, however, is a mistake; the Publick Treasure is the Treasure of the Nation, to be applied for national purposes. And when a Duty is laid for a particular Publick and necessary Purpose, if, through Smuggling, that Duty falls short of raising the sum required, and other Duties must therefore be laid to make up the Deficiency; all the additional Sum laid by the new Duties and paid by other people, tho' it should amount to no more than a Half-penny or a Farthing per Head, is so much actually picked out of the Pockets of those other People by the Smugglers and their Abettors and Encouragers; Are they then any better or other than Pickpockets? And what mean, low, rascally Pickpockets must those be, that can pick Pockets for Half-pence and for Farthings?

[I would not, however, be supposed to allow, in what I

have just said, that cheating the King is a less offence against honesty, than cheating the public. The King and the public, in this case, are different names for the same thing; but, if we consider the King distinctly, it will not lessen the crime; it is no justification of a robbery, that the person robbed was rich and able to bear it. The King has as much right to justice as the meanest of his subjects; and, as he is truly the common *father* of his people, those that rob him fall under the Scripture woe, pronounced against the son *that robbeth his father, and saith it is no sin.*][1]

Mean as this Practice is, do we not daily see people of Character and Fortune engaged in it for trifling Advantages to themselves? Is any Lady asham'd to request of a Gentleman of her Acquaintance, that when he returns from abroad, he would Smuggle her home a piece of Silk, or Lace, from France or Flanders? Is any Gentleman asham'd to undertake, and execute the commission? No. [Not in the least.] They will talk of it freely even before their Friends [others] whose pockets they are thus contriving to pick by this piece of Knavery.

Among other Branches of the Revenue, that of the Post-Office is by a late Law appropriated to the Discharge of our Publick Debt, and defray the Expences of the State. None but Members of Parliament, and a few Publick Officers have now a right to avoid, by a Frank, the payment of Postage. Whenever any Letter not written by them or on their Business, is frank'd by any of them, tis a Fraud upon the Revenue; a Fraud which they must now take the Pains to conceal by writing the whole Superscription themselves.

[1] The paragraph enclosed in brackets appears to have been inserted after the article was written. It is not found in the Ms. copy in A. P. S. — Ed.

And yet such is our Insensibility to justice in this Particular, that nothing is more common than to see, even in reputable Company, a *very honest* Gentleman or Lady declare his or her Intention to cheat the Nation of Three pence by a Frank, and without Blushing apply to one of the very Legislators themselves, with a modest Request, that he would please to become an Accomplice in the Crime, and assist in the Perpetration of it.

There are those who by these Practices take a great deal in a Year out of the Publick Purse, and put the Money into their own private Pockets. If, passing thro' a Room where Publick Treasure is deposited, a Man takes the Opportunity of clandestinely pocketing and carrying off a Guinea, is he not truly and properly a Thief? And if another evades paying into the Treasury a Guinea that he ought to pay in, and Applys it to his own use, when he knows it belongs to the Publick as much as that which has been paid in, what Difference is there in the Nature of the Crime, or the Baseness of committing it?

Some Laws make the Receiving of stolen Goods equally penal with Stealing, and upon this Principle, that if there were no Receivers, there would be few Thieves. Our Proverb says truly, that *the Receiver is as bad as the Thief.*

By the same Reasoning, as there would be few Smugglers, if there were none who knowingly encourage them by buying their Goods, we may say, that the Encouragers of Smuggling are as bad as the Smugglers; and that, as Smugglers are Thieves, both equally deserve the Punishment of Thievery.

In this view of wronging the Revenue, what must we think of great Officers in the N—y, who eat their Country's Bread, if such should run Goods by Boatfulls *vi et armis*,

in open Day, with Threats of immediate Death to an Officer of the Customs who desired Leave to do his Duty in searching the Boat if he did not instantly withdraw. What must we think of Sen—rs who can evade paying for their Wheels [1] or their Plate, in Defiance of Law and Justice, and yet declaim against Corruption, as if their own Hearts and Hands were pure and unsullied? The Americans offend us grievously, when, contrary to our Laws, they smuggle Goods into their own Country; and yet they had no hand in making those Laws. I do not however pretend from thence to justify them. But I think the Offence much greater in those, who either directly or indirectly have been concern'd in making the very Laws they break. And when I hear them exclaim'g against the Americans, and for [every little infringement on the acts of trade, or obstruction given by a petty mob to an officer of our customs in that country, calling for vengeance against the whole people as REBELS and TRAITORS, I cannot help thinking there are still those in the world who can *see a mote in their brother's eye, while they do not discern a beam in their own;* and that the old saying is as true now as ever it was, *One man may better steal a horse, than another look over the hedge.*] B. F.

444. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN [2]

London, November 25, 1767.

DEAR SON,

I think the New Yorkers have been very discreet in forbearing to write and publish against the late act of Parlia-

[1] Alluding to the British taxes on carriage-wheels and on plate. — DUANE.

[2] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 255. — ED.

ment. I wish the Boston people had been as quiet, since Governor Bernard has sent over all their violent papers to the ministry, and wrote them word that he daily expected a rebellion. He did indeed afterwards correct this extravagance, by writing again, that he now understood those papers were approved but by few, and disliked by all the sober, sensible people of the province. A certain noble Lord expressed himself to me with some disgust and contempt of Bernard on this occasion, saying he ought to have known his people better, than to impute to the whole country sentiments, that perhaps are only scribbled by some madman in a garret; that he appeared to be too fond of contention, and mistook the matter greatly, in supposing such letters as he wrote were acceptable to the ministry. I have heard nothing of the appointment of General Clark to New York; but I know he is a friend of Lord Shelburne's, and the same that recommended Mr. M'Lean to be his secretary. Perhaps it might be talked of in my absence.

The commissioners for the American Board, went hence while I was in France; you know before this time who they are and how they are received, which I want to hear.[1] Mr. Williams, who is gone in some office with them, is brother to our cousin Williams of Boston; but I assure you I had not the least share in his appointment; having, as I told you before, carefully kept out of the way of that whole affair.[2]

[1] This was the new Board of Commissioners of Customs established by a late act of Parliament for the colonies. The board was fixed at Boston, and was particularly odious to the colonists, as it seemed to be a part of the system of parliamentary taxation. The commissioners were Charles Paxton, Henry Hutton, William Burch, John Temple, and John Robinson. The three first arrived at Boston in the beginning of November; the two last were already there. S.

[2] John Williams was inspector-general of the customs. — Ed.

As soon as I received Mr. Galloway's, Mr. T. Wharton's, and Mr. Croghan's letters on the subject of the boundary, I communicated them immediately to Lord Shelburne. He invited me the next day to dine with him. Lord Clare was to have been there, but did not come. There was nobody but Mr. M'Lean. My Lord knew nothing of the boundary's having ever been agreed on by Sir William, had sent the letters to the Board of Trade, desiring search to be made there for Sir William's letters, and ordered Mr. M'Lean to search the secretary's office, who found nothing. We had much discourse about it, and I pressed the importance of despatching orders immediately to Sir William to complete the affair. His Lordship asked who was to make the purchase, that is, be at the expense? I said that if the line included any lands within the grants of the charter colonies, they should pay the purchase money of such proportion. If any within the proprietary grants, they should pay their proportion; but that what was within royal governments, where the King granted the lands, the crown should pay for that proportion. His Lordship was pleased to say he thought this reasonable. He finally desired me to go to Lord Clare, as from him, and urge the business there, which I undertook to do.

Among other things at this conversation, we talked of the new settlement; his Lordship told me he had himself drawn up a paper of reasons for those settlements, which he laid before the King in Council, acquainting them that he did not offer them merely as his own sentiments; they were what he had collected from General Amherst, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Jackson, three gentlemen that were allowed to be the best authorities for any thing that related to America. I think he added that the Council seemed to approve of the

design. I know it was referred to the Board of Trade, who I believe have not yet reported on it, and I doubt will report against it. My Lord told me one pleasant circumstance, viz. that he had shown his paper to the Dean of Gloucester (Tucker), to hear his opinion of the matter; who very sagaciously remarked, that he was sure that paper was drawn up by Dr. Franklin; he saw him in every paragraph; adding that Dr. Franklin wanted to remove the seat of government to America; that, says he, is his constant plan.

I waited next morning upon Lord Clare, and pressed the matter of the boundary closely upon him. He said they could not find they had ever received any letters from Sir William concerning this boundary, but were searching farther: agreed to the necessity of settling it; but thought there would be some difficulty about who should pay the purchase money; for that this country was already so loaded, it could bear no more. We then talked of the new colonies. I found he was inclined to think one near the mouth of the Ohio might be of use in securing the country, but did not much approve that at Detroit. And as to the trade, he imagined it would be of little consequence, if we had all the peltry to be purchased there, but supposed our traders would sell it chiefly to the French and Spaniards, at New Orleans, as he heard they had hitherto done.

At the same time that we Americans wish not to be judged of, in the gross, by particular papers written by anonymous scribblers and published in the colonies, it would be well if we could avoid falling into the same mistake in America, in judging of ministers here by the libels printed against them. The inclosed is a very abusive one, in which if there is any foundation of truth, it can only be in the insinuation contained

in the words "*after eleven adjournments*," that they are too apt to postpone business; but if they have given any occasion for this reflection, there are reasons and circumstances that may be urged in their excuse.

It gives me pleasure to hear that the people of the other colonies are not insensible of the zeal with which I occasionally espouse their respective interests, as well as the interests of the whole. I shall continue to do so as long as I reside here and am able.

The present ministry seem now likely to continue through this session of Parliament; and perhaps if the new Parliament should not differ greatly in complexion from this, they may be fixed for a number of years, which I earnestly wish, as we have no chance for a better. B. FRANKLIN.

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445. TO JOHN CANTON[1] (R. S.)

Friday, November 27. [1767][2]

DEAR SIR

After the Society was gone, my Lord Moreton said (when I offered him the Paper) that it ought to have been deliver'd before and read to the Society: he however desir'd me to produce it to the Council. There the Reading of it was oppos'd, as not being referr'd to them by the Society. But this was at last got over, by Dr. Moreton's proposing that the

[1] Published in Weld's "History of the Royal Society," Vol. II, p. 67, but printed here from the original in the Library of the Royal Society. — ED.

[2] The year is not named in the original letter. Weld ascertained the date by reference to various documents. The Council and Society met on the previous day, and at both meetings Lord Morton and Dr. Franklin were present. See Weld, "History of the Royal Society," Vol. II, p. 67. The medal was not awarded to Priestley until 1773. — ED.

giving a Medal to Dr. Priestley should be taken into Consideration, and that in order to judge the better of the Propriety of that Proposal, the Paper should be read. It was accordingly read. I was then desired as the best Judge present to give my Opinion of the Merit of the Experiments as to the Medal; Which I did in plain Terms, declaring it as my judgment that the great Pains and Expence the Doctor had been at in making them and the Importance of the Experiments themselves, well deserv'd that Encouragement from the Society; and that it was a Mark of Distinction justly due to so much philosophical Industry and Sagacity.

One that sat near me, told me he was surpriz'd at the Acc[t] I had given, as he had been assured the Medal was intended to be bestow'd on the Doctor only for writing a History which was thought wrong, but it now appear'd he had made many valuable new Experiments, etc. Then a Question arose, how far it was proper to give a Medal for Experiments that had not been sent to the Society, till they were published; and this occasioned a search for Sir Godfrey Copley's Will, which could not be found; but an Agreement was found, recorded between the Society and his Executors, that the £5 should be given for the best Experiment within the Year, proposed and directed to be made by the Society; and made in their Presence. This not having been the Practice of late Years, it began to be whisper'd that most of the Medals had been irregularly given. A subsequent Resolution was, however, found to print the Clause of Sir Godfrey Copley's Will in every Number of the *Transactions*, for the Encouragement of Foreigners, to endeavour obtaining the Reward, as there was reason to fear a Failure of Experiments upon the former Plan.

By this Time it grew late, and it was concluded that the

Books should be searched, to find all the Steps that had been taken in disposing of this Prize, whether in Money or in Medals, from the first instance in 1717 to the last; with the Reasons and Grounds on which the Council had proceeded, and that a Copy of that Part of Sir Godfrey's Will should be obtained from the Commons; when at the next Council, the Matter might be reconsidered, and the Medal then given to Dr. Priestley, if the Council thought fit, and it should be found not contrary to the Will so to do. Thus the Business ended for that time; and how it will conclude at last seems an Uncertainty, for I think some Persons are busy in an Opposition to the Measure. But I hope it will end in favour of Merit, in which case I think our Friend cannot miss it. I am, dear Sir,

Your most obed^{t} Servant

B. Franklin

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446. TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY [1]

London, Dec. 1, 1767.

Dear Sir,

I duly received your favours of August 22, September 20, and October 8, and within these few days one of February 14, recommending Mr. Morgan Edwards [2] and his affair of the Rhode Island College, which I shall endeavour to promote, deeming the institution one of the most catholic and generous of the kind.

I am inclined to think with you that the small sum you have

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 258. — Ed.

[2] Morgan Edwards (1722–1795), the prime mover in the founding of "Rhode Island College," now Brown University. — Ed.

issued to discharge the public debts only will not be materially affected in its credit for want of the legal tender, considering especially the present extreme want of money in the province. You appear to me to point out the true cause of the general distress, viz. the late luxurious mode of living introduced by a too great plenty of cash. It is indeed amazing to consider, that we had a quantity sufficient before the war began, and that the war added immensely to that quantity, by the sums spent among us by the crown, and the paper struck and issued in the province; and now in so few years all the money spent by the crown is gone away, and has carried with it all the gold and silver we had before, leaving us bare and empty, and at the same time more in debt to England than ever we were! But I am inclined to think, that the mere making more money will not mend our circumstances, if we do not return to that industry and frugality, which were the fundamental causes of our former prosperity. I shall nevertheless do my utmost this winter to obtain the repeal of the act restraining the legal tender, if our friends the merchants think it practicable, and will heartily espouse the cause; and, in truth, they have full as much interest in the event as we have.

The present ministry, it is now thought, are likely to continue at least till a new Parliament; so that our apprehensions of a change, and that Mr. Grenville would come in again, seem over for the present. He behaves as if a little out of his head on the article of America, which he brings into every debate without rhyme or reason, when the matter has not the least connection with it; thus at the beginning of this session on the debate upon the King's speech, he tired everybody, even his friends, with a long harangue about and against America, of which there was not a word in the speech. Last Friday he

produced in the House a late Boston Gazette, which he said denied the legislative authority of Parliament, was treasonable, rebellious, &c., and moved it might be read, and that the House would take cognizance of it, but it being moved on the other hand that Mr. G's motion should be postponed to that day six months, it was carried without a division: and as it is known that this Parliament will expire before that time, it was equivalent to a total rejection of the motion. The Duke of B.[1] too, it seems, moved in vain for a consideration of this paper in the House of Lords. These are favourable symptoms of the present disposition of Parliament towards America, which I hope no conduct of the Americans will give just cause of altering.

Be so good as to present my best respects to the House, and believe me with sincere esteem and regard, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and most obedient servant,

B. Franklin.

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447. TO JOHN ROSS[2]

London, Dec. 13, 1767.

Dear Sir,

I received your kind letter of October 18. I had before seen with great pleasure your name in the papers as chosen for the city of Philadelphia.

The instruction you mention, as proposed by a certain great man, was really a wild one. The reasons you made use of against it were clear and strong, and could not but prevail. It will be time enough to show a dislike to the coalition when

[1] Bedford.

[2] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 259. — Ed.

it is proposed to us. Meanwhile we have all the advantage in the argument of taxation, which our not being represented will continue to give us. I think, indeed, that such an event is very remote. This nation is indeed too proud to propose admitting American representatives into their Parliament; and America is not so humble, or so fond of the honour, as to petition for it. In matrimonial matches 'tis said, when one party is willing the match is half made, but where neither party is willing there is no great danger of their coming together. And to be sure such an important business would never be treated of by agents unimpowered and uninstructed; nor would government here act upon the private opinion of agents, which might be disowned by their constituents.

The present ministry seem now likely to continue through this session; and this, as a new election approaches, gives them the advantage of getting so many of their friends chosen as may give a stability to their administration. I heartily wish it, because they are all well disposed towards America.

With sincere esteem, I am, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and most obedient servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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448. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN[1]

London, Dec. 19, 1767.

DEAR SON,

The resolutions of the Boston people concerning trade make a great noise here.[2] Parliament has not yet taken

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 260. — ED.

[2] These resolutions were passed on the 28th of October, and recommended that all prudent and legal measures should be taken to encourage the produce and manufactures of the province, to lessen the use of superfluities, and refrain from purchasing a great number of imported articles. — S.

Benjamin Franklin Esqr
of Philadelphia,

a gentleman, who has very eminently distinguished himself by various discoveries in natural philosophy, & who first suggested the experiments to prove the analogy between lightning & electricity, being desirous of being elected a fellow of the royal Society, is recommended by us in consideration of his great merit, & of his many communications, as highly deserving the honour he desires.

Macclesfield
Parker
Willoughby
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Jr. Canton

London 29 January 1756.
1 Feb. 5.
2 - - - 12.
3 - - - 19.
4 - - - 26.
5 March 4.
6 - - - 11.
7 - - - 18.
8 - - - 25.
9 April 1.
10 - - - 8.
[illegible] elected
[illegible]

notice of them, but the newspapers are in full cry against America. Colonel Onslow told me at court last Sunday, that I could not conceive how much the friends of America were run upon and hurt by them, and how much the Grenvillians triumphed. I have just written a paper for next Tuesday's *Chronicle* to extenuate matters a little.[1]

Mentioning Colonel Onslow, reminds me of something that passed at the beginning of this session in the House between him and Mr. Grenville. The latter had been raving against America, as traitorous, rebellious, &c., when the former, who has always been its firm friend, stood up and gravely said, that in reading the Roman history he found it was a custom among that wise and magnanimous people, whenever the senate was informed of any discontent in the provinces, to send two or three of their body into the discontented provinces, to inquire into the grievances complained of, and report to the senate, that mild measures might be used to remedy what was amiss, before any severe steps were taken to enforce obedience. That this example he thought worthy of our imitation in the present state of our colonies, for he did so far agree with the honourable gentleman, that spoke just before him, as to allow there were great discontents among them. He should therefore beg leave to move, that two or three members of Parliament be appointed to go over to New England on this service. And that it might not be supposed he was for imposing burthens on others, which he would not be willing to bear himself, he did at the same time declare his own willingness, if the House should think fit to appoint them, to go over thither *with that honourable gentle-*

[1] "Causes of the American Discontents before 1768," which was published January 7, 1768. — Ed.

man. Upon this there was a great laugh, which continued some time, and was rather increased by Mr. Grenville's asking, "Will the gentleman engage, that I shall be safe there? Can I be assured that I shall be allowed to come back again to make the report?" As soon as the laugh was so far subsided as that Mr. Onslow could be heard again, he added, "I cannot absolutely engage for the honourable gentleman's safe return, but if he goes thither upon this service, I am strongly of opinion the *event* will contribute greatly to the future quiet of both countries." On which the laugh was renewed and redoubled.

If our people should follow the Boston example in entering into resolutions of frugality and industry, full as necessary for us as for them, I hope they will among other things give this reason, that 'tis to enable them more speedily and effectually to discharge their debts to Great Britain. This will soften a little, and at the same time appear honourable and like ourselves.

We have had an ugly affair at the Royal Society lately. One Dacosta, a Jew, who, as our clerk, was intrusted with collecting our moneys, has been so unfaithful as to embezzle near thirteen hundred pounds in four years. Being one of the Council this year, as well as the last, I have been employed all the last week in attending the inquiry into, and unravelling, his accounts, in order to come at a full knowledge of his frauds. His securities are bound in one thousand pounds to the Society, which they will pay, but we shall probably lose the rest. He had this year received twenty-six admission payments of twenty-five guineas each, which he did not bring to account.

While attending to this affair, I had an opportunity of

looking over the old council-books and journals of the society, and, having a curiosity to see how I came in, of which I had never been informed, I looked back for the minutes relating to it. You must know, it is not usual to admit persons that have not requested to be admitted; and a recommendatory certificate in favour of the candidate, signed by at least three of the members, is by our rule to be presented to the Society, expressing that he is desirous of that honour, and is so and so qualified. As I never had asked or expected the honour, I was, as I said before, curious to see how the business was managed. I found that the certificate, worded very advantageously for me, was signed by Lord Macclesfield, then President, Lord Parker, and Lord Willoughby; that the election was by a unanimous vote; and, the honour being voluntarily conferred by the Society, unsolicited by me, it was thought wrong to demand or receive the usual fees or composition; so that my name was entered on the list with a vote of council, *that I was not to pay any thing.* And accordingly nothing has ever been demanded of me. Those, who are admitted in the common way, pay five guineas admission fees, and two guineas and a half yearly contribution, or twenty-five guineas down, in lieu of it. In my case a substantial favour accompanied the honour.

Yours etc.

B. Franklin

449. CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN DISCONTENTS BEFORE 1768[1]

The Waves never rise but when the Winds blow. — *Prov.*

Sir,

As the cause of the present ill-humour in America, and of the resolutions taken there to purchase less of our manufactures, does not seem to be generally understood, it may afford some satisfaction to your Readers, if you give them the following short historical state of facts.

From the time that the Colonies were first considered as capable of granting aids to the Crown, down to the end of the last war, it is said, that the constant mode of obtaining those aids was by *Requisition* made from the Crown through its Governors to the several Assemblies, in circular letters from the Secretary of State in his Majesty's name, setting forth the occasion, requiring them to take the matter into consideration; and expressing a reliance on their prudence, duty and affection to his Majesty's Government, that they would grant such sums, or raise such numbers of men, as were suitable to their respective circumstances.

[1] Contributed to *The London Chronicle*, and published there January 7, 1768. For references to this article see F. to W. F., December 19, 1767, and January 9, 1768; and F. to T. Wharton, February 20, 1768. It is here printed from Goddard's *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, April 25, 1768. It was reprinted the same year, as a postscript to a pamphlet entitled "The True Sentiments of America." . . . "Goddard said he would publish your paper on 'Smuggling' in the *Chronicle*, but he has not. The One relative to the Disputes in America he has printed. They are both much admired, and the latter is thought by many to be more to the Purpose than all the 'Farmer's Letters' put together. They, indeed, are in many Parts extremely absurd and contradictory, but being wrote in a smooth, easy flowing stile they pass off very well with great Numbers of the common people in America, and with some others." W. Franklin to B. F., May 10, 1768. — Ed.

The Colonies, being accustomed to this method, have from time to time granted money to the Crown, or raised troops for its service, in proportion to their abilities; and during all the last war beyond their abilities, so that considerable sums were returned them yearly by Parliament, as they had exceeded their proportion.

Had this happy method of Requisition been continued, (a method that left the King's subjects in those remote countries the pleasure of showing their zeal and loyalty, and of imagining that they recommended themselves to their Sovereign by the liberality of their voluntary grants) there is no doubt but all the money that could reasonably be expected to be raised from them in any manner, might have been obtained, without the least heart-burning, offence, or breach of the harmony, of affections and interests, that so long subsisted between the two countries.

It has been thought wisdom in a Government exercising sovereignty over different kinds of people, to have some regard to prevailing and established opinions among the people to be governed, wherever such opinions might, in their effects obstruct or promote public measures. If they tend to obstruct public service, they are to be changed, if possible, before we attempt to act against them; and they can only be changed by reason and persuasion. But if public business can be carried on without thwarting those opinions, if they can be, on the contrary, made subservient to it, they are not unnecessarily to be thwarted, how absurd so ever such popular opinions may be in their nature.

This had been the wisdom of our Government with respect to raising money in the Colonies. It was well known, that the Colonists universally were of opinion, that no money

could be levied from English subjects, but by their own consent given by themselves or their chosen Representatives: That therefore, whatever money was to be raised from the people in the Colonies, must first be granted by their Assemblies, as the money raised in Britain is first to be granted by the House of Commons: That this right of granting their own money, was essential to English liberty: And that if any man, or body of men, in which they had no Representative of their choosing, could tax them at pleasure, they could not be said to have any property, any thing they could call their own. But as these opinions did not hinder their granting money voluntarily and amply whenever the Crown by its servants came into their Assemblies (as it does into its Parliaments of Britain or Ireland) and demanded aids; therefore that method was chosen rather than the hateful one of arbitrary taxes.

I do not undertake here to support these opinions of the Americans; they have been refuted by a late Act of Parliament, declaring its own power; which very Parliament, however, shewed wisely so much tender regard to those inveterate prejudices, as to repeal a tax that had militated against them. And those prejudices are still so fixed and rooted in the Americans, that, it has been supposed, not a single man among them has been convinced of his error, even by that Act of Parliament.

The person then who first projected to lay aside the accustomed method of Requisitions and to raise money on America by Stamps, seems not to have acted wisely in deviating from that method (which the Colonists looked upon as constitutional) and thwarting unnecessarily the fixed prejudices of so great a number of the King's subjects. It was not, how-

ever, for want of knowledge that what he was about to do would give them great offence; he appears to have been very sensible of this, and apprehensive that it might occasion some disorders, to prevent or suppress which, he projected another Bill that was brought in the same Session with the Stamp Act, whereby it was to be made lawful for military Officers in the Colonies to quarter their soldiers in private houses.

This seemed intended to awe the people into a compliance with the other Act. Great opposition however being raised here against the Bill by the Agents from the Colonies, and the Merchants trading thither, the Colonists declaring, that under such a power in the Army, no one could look on his house as his own, or think he had a home, when soldiers might be thrust into it and mixed with his family at the pleasure of an officer, that part of the bill was dropt; but there still remained a clause, when it passed into a Law, to oblige the several Assemblies to provide quarters for the soldiers, furnishing them with firing, bedding, candles, small beer or rum, and sundry other articles, at the expence of the several Provinces. And this Act continued in force when the Stamp Act was repealed, though if obligatory on the Assemblies, it equally militated against the American principle above mentioned, *that money is not to be raised on English subjects without their consent.*

The Colonies nevertheless being put into high good-humour by the repeal of the Stamp Act, chose to avoid a fresh dispute upon the other, it being temporary and soon to expire, never, as they hoped, to revive again; and in the mean time they, by various ways in different Colonies, provided for the quartering of the troops, either by acts of their own Assemblies, without taking notice of the A[ct] of P[ar-

liamen]t, or by some variety or small diminution, as of salt and vinegar, in the supplies required by the Act, that what they did, might appear a voluntary act of their own and not done in obedience to an A[ct] of P[arliamen]t, which, according to their ideas of their rights, they thought hard to obey.

It might have been well if the matter had then passed without notice; but a G[overno]r having written home an angry and aggravating letter upon this conduct in the Assembly of his Province, the outed P[ropose]r [1] of the Stamp Act and his adherents then in the opposition, raised such a clamour against America, as being in rebellion, and against those who had been for the repeal of the Stamp Act, as having thereby been encouragers of this supposed rebellion, that it was thought necessary to enforce the Quartering Act by another Act of Parliament, taking away from the Province of New York, which had been the most explicit in its refusal, all the powers of legislation, till it should have complied with that act. The news of which greatly alarmed the people everywhere in America, as (it has been said) the language of such an act seemed to them to be, Obey implicitly laws made by the Parliament of Great Britain to raise money on you without your consent, or you shall enjoy no rights or privileges at all.

At the same time a Person lately in high office,[2] projected the levying more money from America, by new duties on various articles of our own manufacture, as glass, paper, painters' colours, &c., appointing a new Board of Customs, and sending over a set of Commissioners, with large salaries to be established at Boston, who were to have the care of collecting those duties, which were by the act expressly mentioned to be intended for the payment of the salaries of Governors, Judges,

[1] Mr. George Grenville.

[2] Mr. Charles Townshend.

and other Officers of the Crown in America; it being a pretty general opinion here, that those Officers ought not to depend on the people there for any part of their support.

It is not my intention to combat this opinion. But perhaps it may be some satisfaction to your Readers to know what ideas the Americans have on the subject. They say then as to Governors, that they are not like Princes whose posterity have an inheritance in the government of a nation, and therefore an interest in its prosperity; they are generally strangers to the Provinces they are sent to govern, have no estate, natural connexion, or relation there, to give them an affection for the country; that they come only to make money as fast as they can; are sometimes men of vicious characters and broken fortunes, sent by a Minister merely to get them out of the way; that as they intend staying in the country no longer than their government continues, and purpose to leave no family behind them, they are apt to be regardless of the good will of the people, and care not what is said or thought of them after they are gone.

Their situation at the same time gives them many opportunities of being vexatious, and they are often so, notwithstanding their dependance on the Assemblies for all that part of their support that does not arise from fees established by law; but would probably be much more so, if they were to be supported by money drawn from the people without their consent or good will, which is the professed design of this new act. That if by means of these forced duties Government is to be supported in America, without the intervention of the Assemblies, their Assemblies will soon be looked upon as useless, and a Governor will not call them, as having nothing to hope from their meeting, and perhaps something

to fear from their inquiries into and remonstrances against this Mal-administration. That thus the people will be deprived of their most essential rights. That it being, as at present, a Governor's interest to cultivate the good will by promoting the welfare of the people he governs, can be attended with no prejudice to the Mother Country, since all the laws he may be prevailed on to give his assent to are subject to revision here, and, if reported against by the Board of Trade, are immediately repealed by the Crown; nor dare he pass any law contrary to his instructions, as he holds his office during the pleasure of the Crown, and his Securities are liable for the penalties of their bonds if he contravenes those instructions. This is what they say as to *Governors.*

As to *Judges,* they alledge, that being appointed from hence, and holding their commissions *not* during *good behaviour,* as in Britain, but during *pleasure,* all the weight of interest or influence would be thrown into one of the scales, (which ought to be held even) if the salaries are also to be paid out of duties raised upon the people without their consent, and independent of their Assemblies' approbation or disapprobation of the Judge's behaviour. That it is true, Judges should be free from all influence; and therefore whenever Government here will grant commissions to able and honest Judges during good behaviour, the Assemblies will settle permanent and ample salaries on them during their commissions: But at present they have no other means of getting rid of an ignorant or an unjust Judge (and some of scandalous characters have, they say, been sometimes sent them) but by starving him out.

I do not suppose these reasonings of theirs will appear here to have much weight. I do not produce them with an expectation of convincing your readers. I relate them merely

in pursuance of the task I have imposed on myself, to be an impartial historian of American facts and opinions.

The colonists being thus greatly alarmed, as I said before, by the news of the Act for abolishing the Legislature of New-York, and the imposition of these new duties professedly for such disagreeable purposes; (accompanied by a new set of revenue officers with large appointments, which gave strong suspicions that more business of the same kind was soon to be provided for them, that they might earn these salaries;) began seriously to consider their situation, and to revolve afresh in their minds grievances which from their respect and love for this country, they had long borne and seemed almost willing to forget.

They reflected how lightly the interest of all America had been estimated here, when the interests of a few of the inhabitants of Great-Britain happened to have the smallest competition with it. That thus the whole American people was forbidden the advantage of a direct importation of wine, oil, and fruit, from Portugal, but must take them loaded with all the expences of a voyage 1000 leagues round about, being to be landed first in England, to be re-shipped for America; expences amounting, in war time, at least to 30 per cent. more than otherwise they would have been charged with, and all this merely that a few Portugal merchants in London may gain a commission on those goods passing through their hands, Portugal merchants, by the by, that can complain loudly of the smallest hardships laid on their trade by *foreigners*, and yet even in the last year could oppose with all their influence the giving ease to their *fellow subjects* labouring under so heavy an oppression! That on a slight complaint of a few Virginia merchants, nine colonies had been

restrained from making paper money, become absolutely necessary to their internal commerce from the constant remittance of their gold and silver to Britain.

But not only the interest of a particular body of merchants, the interest of any small body of British tradesmen or artificers, has been found, they say, to outweigh that of all the King's subjects in the colonies. There cannot be a stronger natural right than that of a man's making the best profit he can of the natural produce of his lands, provided he does not thereby hurt the state in general. Iron is to be found everywhere in America, and beaver furs are the natural produce of that country: hats, and nails, and steel are wanted there as well as here. It is of no importance to the common welfare of the empire, whether a subject of the King's gets his living by making hats on this or that side of the water. Yet the Hatters of England have prevailed to obtain an Act in their own favour, restraining that manufacture in America, in order to oblige the Americans to send their beaver to England to be manufactured, and purchase back the hats, loaded with the charges of a double transportation. In the same manner have a few Nail-makers, and a still smaller body of Steel-makers (perhaps there are not half a dozen of these in England) prevailed totally to forbid by an Act of Parliament the erecting of slitting-mills or steel-furnaces in America; that the Americans may be obliged to take all the nails for their buildings, and steel for their tools, from these artificers, under the same disadvantages.

Added to these, the Americans remembered the Act authorizing the most cruel insult that perhaps was ever offered by one people to another, that of *emptying our goals* into their settlements: Scotland too having within these two years

obtained the privilege it had not before, of sending its rogues and villains also to the plantations. I say, reflecting on these things, they said one to another (their newspapers are full of such discourses) these people are not content with making a monopoly of us, forbidding us to trade with any other country of Europe, and compelling us to buy every thing of them, though in many articles we could furnish ourselves 10, 20, and even to 50 per cent cheaper elsewhere; but now they have as good as declared they have a right to tax us *ad libitum* internally and externally, and that our constitutions and liberties shall all be taken away, if we do not submit to that claim.

They are not content with the high prices at which they sell us their goods, but have now begun to enhance those prices by new duties; and, by the expensive apparatus of a new set of officers, appear to intend an augmentation and multiplication of those burthens that shall still be more grievous to us. Our people have been foolishly fond of their superfluous modes and manufactures, to the impoverishing our country, carrying off all our cash, and loading us with debt: they will not suffer us to restrain the luxury of our inhabitants, as they do that of their own, by laws; they can make laws to discourage or prohibit the importation of French superfluities; but though those of England are as ruinous to us as the French ones are to them, if we make a law of that kind, they immediately repeal it.

Thus they get all our money from us by trade, and every profit we can anywhere make by our fisheries, our produce, or our commerce, centres finally with them; but this does not signify. It is time then to take care of ourselves by the best means in our power. Let us unite in solemn resolutions and engagements with and to each other, that we will give these

new officers as little trouble as possible, by not consuming the British manufactures on which they are to levy the duties. Let us agree to consume no more of their expensive gewgaws. Let us live frugally, and let us industriously manufacture what we can for ourselves: Thus we shall be able honourably to discharge the debts we already owe them, and after that we may be able to keep some money in our country, not only for the uses of our internal commerce, but for the service of our gracious Sovereign, whenever he shall have occasion for it, and think proper to require it of us in the old *constitutional* manner. For, notwithstanding the reproaches thrown out against us in their public papers and pamphlets, notwithstanding we have been reviled in their senate as *Rebels* and *Traitors*, we are truly a loyal people. Scotland has had its rebellions, and England its plots against the present Royal Family; but America is untainted with those crimes; there is in it scarce a man, there is not a single native of our country, who is not firmly attached to his King by principle and by affection.

But a new kind of loyalty seems to be required of us, a loyalty to P[arliamen]t; a loyalty that is to extend, it is said, to a surrender of all our properties, whenever a H[ouse] of C[ommons,] (in which there is not a single member of our choosing) shall think fit to grant them away without our consent; and to a patient suffering the loss of our privileges as Englishmen, if we cannot submit to make such surrender. We were separated too far from Britain by the Ocean, but we were united to it by respect and love, so that we could at any time freely have spent our lives and little fortunes in its cause: But this unhappy new system of politics tends to dissolve those bands of union, and to sever us for ever.

These are the wild ravings of the at present half distracted Americans. To be sure, no reasonable man in England can approve of such sentiments, and, as I said before, I do not pretend to support or justify them: But I sincerely wish, for the sake of the manufactures and commerce of Great-Britain, and for the sake of the strength which a firm union with our growing colonies would give us, that these people had never been thus needlessly driven out of their senses. I am, yours, &c. F + S.

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450. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN[1]

London, Jan. 9, 1768.

Dear Son,

We have had so many alarms of changes, which did not take place, that just when I wrote it was thought the ministry would stand their ground. However, immediately after, the talk was renewed, and it soon appeared that the Sunday changes were actually settled. Mr. Conway resigns and Lord Weymouth takes his place. Lord Gower is made President of the Council in the room of Lord Northington. Lord Shelburne is stript of the American business, which is given to Lord Hillsborough as secretary of state for America, a new distinct department. Lord Sandwich, 'tis said, comes into the postoffice in his place. Several of the Bedford party are now to come in.

How these changes may effect us a little time will show. Little at present is thought of but elections, which gives me hopes that nothing will be done against America this session,

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 263. — Ed.

though the *Boston Gazette* had occasioned some heats, and the Boston Resolutions a prodigious clamour. I have endeavoured to palliate matters for them as well as I can: I send you my manuscript of one paper, though I think you take the *Chronicle*. The editor of that paper, one Jones,[1] seems a Grenvillian, or is very cautious, as you will see by his corrections and omissions. He has drawn the teeth and pared the nails of my paper, so that it can neither scratch nor bite. It seems only to paw and mumble. I send you also two other late pieces of mine. There is another which I cannot find.

I am told there has been a talk of getting me appointed under-secretary to Lord Hillsborough; but with little likelihood, as it is a settled point here, that I am too much of an American. I am in very good health, thanks to God: Your affectionate father,

B. Franklin.

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451. TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY[2]

London, Jan. 9, 1768.

Dear Sir,

I wrote to you via Boston, and have little to add, except to acquaint you that some changes have taken place since my last, which have not the most promising aspect for America, several of the Bedford party being come into employment again; a party that has distinguished itself by exclaiming against us on all late occasions. Mr. Conway, one of our

[1] Griffith Jones (1722–1786) was associated with Dr. Johnson in *The Literary Magazine*, and edited the *Chronicle*, *Daily Advertiser*, and *Public Ledger*. — Ed.

[2] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 264. — Ed.

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friends, has resigned, and Lord Weymouth takes his place. Lord Shelburne, another friend, is stripped of the American part of the business of his office, which now makes a distinct department, in which Lord Hillsborough is placed. I do not think this nobleman in general an enemy to America; but in the affair of paper money he was last winter strongly against us.

I did hope I had removed some of his prejudices on that head, but am not certain. We have however increased the cry for it here, and believe shall attempt to obtain the repeal of the act, though the *Boston Gazette* and their resolutions about manufactures have hurt us much, having occasioned an immense clamour here. I have endeavoured to palliate matters for them as well as I can, and hope with some success. For having, in a large company in which were some members of Parliament, given satisfaction to all, by what I alleged in explanation of the conduct of the Americans, and to show that they were not quite so unreasonable as they appeared to be, I was advised by several present to make my sentiments public, not only for the sake of America, but as it would be some ease to our friends here, who are triumphed over a good deal by our adversaries on the occasion. I have accordingly done it in the inclosed paper.

I shall write you fully on other subjects very soon. At present, I can only add my respects to the Committee, and that I am, dear Sir, your faithful humble servant,

B. Franklin.

452. TO ABBÉ CHAPPE[1] (A. P. S.)

London, Jan. 31. 1768

Sir

I sent you sometime since, directed to the Care of M. Molini, a Bookseller near the Quay des Augustins a Tooth that I mention'd to you when I had the Pleasure of meeting with you at the Marquis de Courtanvaux's.[2] It was found near the River Ohio in America, about 200 Leagues below Fort du Quesne, at what is called the Great Licking Place, where the Earth has a Saltish Taste that is agreable to the Buffaloes & Deer, who come there at certain Seasons in great Numbers to lick the same. At this Place have been found the Skeletons of near 30 large Animals suppos'd to be Elephants, several Tusks like those of Elephants, being found with these Grinder Teeth — Four of these Grinders were sent me by the Gentleman[3] who brought them from the Ohio to New York, together with 4 Tusks, one of which is 6 Feet long & in the thickest Part near 6 Inches Diameter, and also one of the Vertebrae — My Lord Shelbourn receiv'd at the same time 3 or four of them with a Jaw Bone & one or two Grinders remaining in it. Some of Our Naturalists here, however, contend, that these are not the Grinders of Elephants but of some carnivorous Animal unknown, because such Knobs or Prominences on the Face of the Tooth

[1] Abbé Chappe D'Auteroche (1722–1769), astronomer and author of "Voyage en Sibérie" (1768). He was sent to Tobolsk to observe the transit of Venus (1761). — Ed.

[2] François-César Le Tellier, Marquis de Courtanvaux, Duc de Doudeauville (1718–1781), member of the Academy of Sciences (1764), soldier and scientist. — Ed.

[3] George Croghan. See F.'s letter to him, August 5, 1767. — Ed.

are not to be found on those of Elephants, and only, as they say, on those of carnivorous Animals. But it appears to me that Animals capable of carrying such large & heavy Tusks, must themselves be large Creatures, too bulky to have the Activity necessary for pursuing and taking Prey; and therefore I am inclin'd to think those Knobs are only a small Variety, Animals of the same kind and Name often differing more materially, and that those Knobs might be as useful to grind the small branches of Trees, as to chaw Flesh — However I should be glad to have your Opinion, and to know from you whether any of the kind have been found in Siberia.

With great Esteem & Respect, I am
Sir
Your most obed[t] hum[l]
Servant

B. F.

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453. TO PÈRE BERTHIER [1] (A. P. S.)

London, Jan. 31, 1768.

Rev. Sir,

With cordial Thanks for your many Civilities to me when in Paris, I take this Opportunity of acquainting you, that

[1] Joseph-Etienne Berthier (1702–1783), scientist, author of "Histoire des premiers temps du Monde, d'accord avec la physique et l'histoire de Moïse" (1777). He was elected F.R.S., June 2, 1768. He replied to Franklin with the following letter (A. P. S.), dated "a Paris ce 27 Fev. 1769." — Ed.

Monsieur,

Vous m'avez fait grand plaisir de m'adresser M. le Capitaine Houry. Vous m'avez donné l'occasion de vous marquer ma reconnaissance, mon attachement et mon estime, et de rendre les services dont je suis capable à un homme de mérite et bien aimable. Pour couroner l'œuvre, il faudroit faire encore un voyage en France. C'est votre pays autant que l'angleterre, vous y

your Certificate has been received by the Royal Society, and ordered to be hung up the usual Time which is ten Meetings; but it was observed to be deficient in not mentioning your Christian Name, without which it is not reckon'd regular. I therefore pray you would send me that Name, to be inserted in the Certificate; in order to remove the Objection. — With great Esteem & Respect, I am

Sir John Pringle desires to be remembered to you with Respect —

Revd Sir
Your most obliged
& obed^t^ hum^l^ Servt
B. F.

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454. TO THOMAS-FRANÇOIS DALIBARD

(A. P. S.)

London, Jan. 31. 1768

Dear Sir,

I sent you some time since, Priestly's *History of Electricity*, under the Care of Mr. Molini, Bookseller on the Quay des Augustins. I hope it got safe to Paris, and that you have receiv'd it. I wish the Reading of it may renew your Taste for that Branch of Philosophy, which is already so greatly indebted to you, as being the first of Mankind, that had the Courage to attempt drawing Lightning from the Clouds to be subjected to your Experiments.[1]

seriez au milieu des Franklinistes. Un père est dans son pays quand le pays est habité par ses enfants. Continuez, je vous en prie, de m'adresser des gens de mérite et de m'honorer de vos commissions.

J' étois frankliniste sans le savoir, maintenant que je le sais je ne manquerai pas de citer l'auteur de ma secte.

Je suis avec respect, Monsieur,

Votre très humble et obéissant serviteur

A Paris ce 27 Fev. 1769. (signed) Bertier franklinist

[1] See Introduction, Vol. I, p. 98. — Ed.

In our Return home,[1] We were detained a Week at Calais, by contrary Winds, and stormy Weather, which was the more mortifying to me, when I reflected that I might have enjoy'd Paris and my Friends there all that Time, and yet have been as soon at London.

As I became in Arrear with my Business by so long an Absence, I have been necessarily much occupied since my Return, and have therefore postpon'd from time to time (and so long that I am now ashamed of it) the Purpose I had of writing soon to you, to express the Sense I have of your Kindness to me when a Stranger at Paris, and of the many Civilities I receiv'd from you there and from Mrs. Dalibard, which I assure you have made a lasting Impression on my Memory. I beg you will both of you accept my sincerest Thanks and Acknowledgments. The Time I spent in Paris, and in the improving Conversation and agreable Society of so many learned and ingenious Men, seems now to me like a pleasing Dream, from which I was sorry to be awaked by finding myself again at London.

With the greatest Esteem and best Wishes for your Health and Happiness, I have the Honour to be,

Dear Sir, &c.

B. Franklin.

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455. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN [2]

London, February 13, 1768.

My dear Child,

I received your kind letter by Captain Story, of November 19th, and a subsequent one by Captain Falconer without date.

[1] From France to England. — Ed.

[2] First printed by Sparks.

I have received also the Indian and buckwheat meal, that they brought from you, with the apples, cranberries, and nuts, for all which I thank you. They all prove good, and the apples were particularly welcome to me and my friends, as there happens to be scarce any of any kind in England this year. We are much obliged to the captains, who are so good as to bring these things for us, without charging any thing for their trouble.

I am much concerned for my dear sister's loss of her daughter. It was kind in you to write a letter of condolence. I have also written to her on the occasion. I am not determined about bringing Sally over with me, but am obliged to you for the kind manner in which you speak of it, and possibly I may conclude to do it.[1] I am sorry you had so much trouble with that Nelson. By what is now said of her here, she did not deserve the notice you took of her, or that any credit should be given to her stories. I am afraid she has made mischief in my family by her falsehoods. I think your advice good, not to help any one to servants. I shall never be concerned in such business again; I never was lucky in it.

My love to all our relations and friends, and to Mr. and Mrs. Duffield, and to Mrs. Redman. I am much pleased with her daughter's writing, particularly for its correctness. I am now, and have been all this winter, in very good health, thanks to God. I only once felt a little admonition, as if a fit of the gout would attack me, but it did not. Whether sick or well, I am ever, my dear Debby, your affectionate husband,

B. Franklin.

[1] Sally Franklin, the daughter of Thomas Franklin. — Ed.

P. S. I forgot to tell you that a certain very great lady, the best woman in England, was graciously pleased to accept some of your nuts, and to say they were excellent. This is to yourself only.[1]

456. TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY[2]

London, Feb. 17, 1768.

Dear Sir,

In mine of January 9, I wrote to you that I believed, notwithstanding the clamour against America had been greatly increased by the Boston proceedings, we should attempt this session to obtain the repeal of the restraining act relating to paper money. The change of the administration with regard to American affairs, which was agreed on some time before the new secretary kissed hands and entered upon business, made it impossible to go forward with that affair, as the minister quitting that department would not, and his successor could not engage in it; but now our friends the merchants have been moving in it, and some of them have conceived hopes, from the manner in which Lord Hillsborough attended to their representations. It had been previously concluded among us, that if the repeal was to be obtained at all, it must be proposed in the light of a favour to the merchants of this country, and asked for by them, not by the agents as a favour to America. But as my Lord had, at sundry times before he came into his present station, discoursed with me on the subject, and got from me a copy of my answer to his report, when at the head of the

[1] Lady Bathurst, to whom Franklin offered these American products "as a tribute from that country, small indeed, but voluntary." — Ed.

[2] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 265. — Ed.

Board of Trade, which some time since he thanked me for, and said he would read again and consider carefully, I waited upon him this morning, partly with intent to learn if he had changed his sentiments.

We entered into the subject, and had a long conversation upon it, in which all the arguments he used, against the legal tender of paper money, were intended to demonstrate, that it was for the benefit of the people themselves to have no such money current among them; and it was strongly his opinion, that after the experience of being without it a few years we should all be convinced of this truth, as he said, the New England colonies now were; they having lately, on the rumor of an intended application for taking off the restraint, petitioned here that it might be continued as to them. However, his Lordship was pleased to say, that if such application was made for the three colonies of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, as I proposed, it should have fair play, he would himself give it no sort of opposition, but he was sure it would meet with a great deal, and he thought it could not succeed. He was pleased to make me compliments upon my paper, assuring me he had read it with a great deal of attention, that I had said much more in favour of such a currency than he thought could be said, and all he believed that the subject would admit of; but that it had not on the whole changed his opinion, any further than to induce him to leave the matter now to the judgment of others, and let it take its course, without opposing it as last year he had determined to have done.

I go into the city to-morrow, to confer with the merchants again upon it; that if they see any hopes, we may at least try the event: but I own my expectations are now very slender,

knowing as I do, that nothing is to be done in Parliament that is not a measure adopted by ministry and supported by their strength, much less any thing they are averse to *or indifferent about.*

I took the opportunity of discoursing with his Lordship concerning our particular affair of the change of government, gave him a detail of all proceedings hitherto, the delays it had met with, and its present situation. He was pleased to say he would inquire into the matter, and would talk with me farther upon it. He expressed great satisfaction in the good disposition that he said appeared now to be general in America, with regard to government here, according to the latest advices: and informed me that he had by his Majesty's order wrote the most healing letters to the several governors, which if shown to the Assemblies, as he supposed they would be, could not but confirm that good disposition. As to the permission we want to bring wine, fruit, and oil directly from Spain and Portugal, and to carry iron direct to foreign markets, 'tis agreed on all hands that this is an unfavourable time to move in those matters; G[eorge] Grenville and those in the opposition, on every hint of the kind, making a great noise about the Act of Navigation, that palladium of England as they call it, to be given up to rebellious America, &c. &c., so that the ministry would not venture to propose it, if *they* approved. I am to wait on the secretary again next Wednesday, and shall write you farther what passes, that is material.

The Parliament have of late been acting an egregious farce, calling before them the mayor and aldermen of Oxford, for proposing a sum to be paid by their old members on being rechosen at the next election; and sundry printers and

brokers, for advertising and dealing in boroughs, &c. The Oxford people were sent to Newgate, and discharged, after some days, on humble petition, and receiving the Speaker's reprimand upon their knees. The House could scarcely keep countenances, knowing as they all do, that the practice is general. People say, they mean nothing more than to *beat down the price* by a little discouragement of borough jobbing, now that their own elections are all coming on. The price indeed is grown exorbitant, no less than *four thousand pounds* for a member.

Mr. Beckford has brought in a bill for preventing bribery and corruption in elections, wherein was a clause to oblige every member to swear, on their admission into the House, that he had not directly or indirectly given any bribe to any elector, &c.; but this was so universally exclaimed against, as answering no end but perjuring the members, that he has been obliged to withdraw that clause. It was indeed a cruel contrivance of his, worse than the gunpowder plot; for that was only to blow the Parliament up to heaven, this to sink them all down to ——. Mr. Thurlow opposed his bill by a long speech. Beckford, in reply, gave a dry hit to the House, that is repeated everywhere. "The honourable gentleman," says he, "in his learned discourse, gave us first one definition of corruption, then he gave us another definition of corruption, and I think he was about to give us a third. Pray does that gentleman imagine *there is any member of this House that does not* KNOW what corruption is?" which occasioned only a roar of laughter, for they are so hardened in the practice, that they are very little ashamed of it. This between ourselves. I am with sincerest esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

457. TO CADWALLADER EVANS

London, February 20, 1768.

Dear Sir,

I wrote you a few lines by Captain Falconer, and sent you Dr. Watson's new piece of Experiments in Inoculation, which I hope will be agreeable to you.

In yours of November 20th,[1] you mention the lead in the worms of stills as a probable cause of the dry belly-ache among punch-drinkers in our West Indies. I had before acquainted Dr. Baker with a fact of that kind, the general mischief done by the use of leaden worms, when rum-distilling was first practised in New England, which occasioned a severe law there against them; and he has mentioned it in the second part of his piece not yet published. I have long been of opinion, that that distemper proceeds always from a metallic cause only; observing that it affects, among tradesmen, those that use lead, however different their trades, — as glaziers, letter-founders, plumbers, potters, white-lead makers, and painters; (from the latter, it has been conjectured, it took its name *colica Pictonum*, by the mistake of a letter, and not from its being the disease of Poictou;) and, although the worms of stills ought to be of pure tin, they are often made of pewter, which has a great mixture in it of lead.

The Boston people, pretending to interfere with the manufactures of this country, make a great clamour here against America in general. I have therefore endeavoured to palliate matters a little in several public papers. It would, as you justly observe, give less umbrage if we meddled only with such manufactures as England does not attend to. That of linen might be carried on more or less in every family, and

[1] In the A. P. S. — Ed.

silk, I think, in most of the colonies. But there are many manufactures that we cannot carry on to advantage, though we were at entire liberty. And, after all, this country is fond of manufactures beyond their real value, for the true source of riches is husbandry. Agriculture is truly *productive of new wealth;* manufacturers only change forms, and, whatever value they give to the materials they work upon, they in the mean time consume an equal value in provisions, &c. So that riches are not *increased* by manufacturing; the only advantage is, that provisions in the shape of manufactures are more easily carried for sale to foreign markets. And where the provisions cannot be easily carried to market, it is well to transform them for our own use as well as foreign sale. In families also, where the children and servants of families have some spare time, it is well to employ it in making something, and in spinning or knitting, &c., *to gather up the fragments* (of time) that nothing may be lost, for those fragments, though small in themselves, amount to something great in the year, and the family must eat, whether they work or are idle.

But this nation seems to have increased the number of its manufactures beyond reasonable bounds (for there are bounds to every thing), whereby provisions are now risen to an exorbitant price by the demand for supplying home mouths; so that there may be an importation from foreign countries; but the expense of bringing provisions from abroad to feed manufacturers here will so enhance the price of the manufactures, that they may be made cheaper where the provisions grow, and the mouths will go to the meat.

I am, with thanks for your good wishes, dear Sir, yours, &c.,

B. Franklin.

458. FROM THOMAS LIVEZEY TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

Roxbury Township, Philad[a] County,
Nov. 18, 1767

Respected Friend

Tho' I have not the happiness of an intimate Acquaintance with thee, yet time I hope will alter that Circumstance, and bring us better acquainted; I only Know thee from Some of thy Writings, the author of which I greatly Esteem.

As thou art one of the Agents for this Province in Great Britan, I sent a Dozen of American wine by Capt[n]. Falconer, the Last time he went from here to London, which I am pleas'd to hear, was Safely Delivered, it was Made by mySelf, from our Small wild Grape, which Grows in Great plenty in our Woodlands. And as I have Some of the Same Sort Now on tap, which I think Rather better, I have Sent a Dozen more; with the Assistance of our Mutual friend Thomas Wharton; by the Same Honest Captain — Six bottles of which, are Something paler than the others — I heartily wish it may arrive Safe, and warm the harts of Every one who tasts it, with a Love for America — And would it Contribute towards bringing about a change of Govern[t]. but one month Sooner, I would Gladly Send all I have.

However I do not Dispair of the Change yet, for Some of their *wisdoms* and *Betternesses* allow it will take place, at the Death of Thomas Penn, but at the Same time say, it will not be Sooner if this be Really the Case, I Donot Know whether Some people in this province, wilnot be in the Same Condition, that a German's Wife in my Neighbourhood Lately was Who Said, nobody Could Say, She wished her Husband Dead, but Said, She wished, She Could See, how he would Look when he was Dead. — I honestly Confess, I do not wish him to Die against his will, but if he Could be prevailed on, to Die for the Good of the people, it might perhaps make his Name as Immortal, as Samsons Death Did his, and Gain him more applause here, then all the acts which he has Ever done in his Life.

I hope thee will Excuse me for taking up Somuch of thy time, and permit me to add, that, I am with Great truth, and Regard, thy Sincere Friend.

Tho. Livezey.

459. TO THOMAS LIVEZEY[1] (P. C.)

London, Feb. 20, 1768.

SIR:

I received of Captain Falconer your kind letter of Nov. 18, with a very welcome present of another Dozen of your wine. The former has been found excellent by many good judges, my Wine Merchant in particular was very desirous of knowing what quantity of it might be had and at what price, in which I could give him no satisfaction. I only said that as the grapes being uncultivated, were not very juicy, I apprehended so many of them must be required, and so much labour in gathering, and pressing them to produce a little wine, that the price could not be very low. I shall apply this parcel as I did the last towards winning the hearts of the Friends of our Country, and wellwishers to the Change of its Government — The Partizans of the present, may as you say flatter themselves that such Change will not take place, till the Proprietor's death, but I imagine he hardly thinks so himself. Anxiety and uneasiness are painted on his brow and the woman who would like to see how he would look when dead, need only look at him while living — In that respect at least he appears to be a good Christian as one that dieth daily — With great regard, and many thanks for your kindness to me, I am, Sir,

Your much obliged Friend and humble Servant

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] From the original in the possession of Mr. Thomas Livezey, of Roxborough, Philadelphia. — ED.

460. TO THOMAS WHARTON[1]

London, February 20, 1768.

DEAR FRIEND,

I received your favours of November 17 and 18, with another dozen of excellent wine, the manufacture of our friend Livezey. I thank you for the care you have taken in forwarding them, and for your kind good wishes that accompany them.

The story you mention of secretary Conway's wondering what I could be doing in England, and that he had not seen me for a considerable time, savours strongly of the channel through which it came, and deserves no notice. But, since his name is mentioned, it gives me occasion to relate what passed between us the last time I had the honour of conversing with him. It was at court, when the late changes were first rumoured, and it was reported he was to resign the secretary's office. Talking of America, I said I was sorry to find, that our friends were one after another quitting the administration, that I was apprehensive of the consequences, and hoped what I heard of his going out was not true. He said it was really true, the employment had not been of his choice, he had never any taste for it, but had submitted to engage in it for a time, at the instance of his friends, and he believed his removal could not be attended with any ill consequences to America: that he was a sincere well-wisher to the prosperity of that country as well as this, and hoped the imprudencies of either side would never be carried to such a

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 268. Thomas Wharton (1731–1782) was a partner of Galloway and Goddard in the establishment of the *Chronicle*. — ED.

height as to create a breach of the union, so essentially necessary to the welfare of both: that as long as his Majesty continued to honour him with a share in his counsels, America should always find in him a friend, &c. This I write, as it was agreeable to me to hear, and I suppose will be so to you to read. For his character has more in it of the frank honesty of the soldier, than of the plausible insincerity of the courtier; and therefore what he says is more to be depended on.

The Proprietor's dislike to my continuing in England, to be sure, is very natural; as well as to the repeated choice of Assembly men, not his friends; and probably he would, as they so little answer his purposes, wish to see elections as well as agencies abolished. They make him very unhappy, but it cannot be helped.

The proceedings in Boston, as the news came just upon the meeting of Parliament, and occasioned great clamour here, gave me much concern. And as every offensive thing done in America is charged upon all, and every province though unconcerned in it, suffers in its interests through the general disgust given and the little distinction here made, it became necessary, I thought, to palliate the matter a little for our own sakes; and therefore I wrote the paper, which probably you have seen printed in the *Chronicle* of January 7, and signed F + S. Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

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461. FROM LORD KAMES (A. P. S.)

Edinburgh, 18th Feb. 1768

I BEGIN to perceive in my decline of life that happiness, comfort at least, depends more upon what a Philosopher would call slight conveniences than a young man in the ardour of his studies is apt to imagine. I have

bought a house in this Town which luckily is absolutely free of smoke except what is commonly called neighbour smoke ; that is the smoke issuing from one Vent sometimes goes down a neighbouring vent and issues into the room when there is no fire in it. I apply to you for a remedy as to an universal smoke Doctor ; and if I had a remedy, mine would be the most complete house in Edin.

I have been thinking lately of adopting your Philadelphia Grate, as it promises to save Coal, and to diffuse an equal heat through the Room. But I first wish to learn from you whether it will perfectly answer its purpose, and whether you have made any improvement.

Will nothing again ever draw you to Scotland ? I have got one of the finest places with an inchanting Winter Garden ; and it would give me great joy to entertain you there.

Your faithful friend
HENRY HOME

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462. TO LORD KAMES

London, February 28, 1768.

IT gave me great pleasure to see my dear good friend's name at the foot of a letter I received the other day, having been often uneasy at his long silence, blaming myself as the cause by my own previous backwardness and want of punctuality as a correspondent. I now suppose, (as in this he mentions nothing of it,) that a long letter I wrote him about this time twelvemonth, on the subject of the disputes with America, did miscarry, or that his answer to that letter miscarried, as I have never heard from him since I wrote that letter.

I have long been of an opinion similar to that you express, and think happiness consists more in small conveniences or pleasures that occur every day, than in great pieces of good fortune that happen but seldom to a man in the course of his life. Thus I reckon it among my felicities, that I can set my own razor, and shave myself perfectly well; in which I have

a daily pleasure, and avoid the uneasiness one is sometimes obliged to suffer from the dirty fingers or bad breath of a slovenly barber.

I congratulate you on the purchase of a new house so much to your mind, and wish that you may long inhabit it with comfort. The inconvenience you mention of neighbouring smoke coming down the vents, is not owing to any bad construction of the vent down which it comes, and therefore not to be remedied by any change of form. It is merely the effect of a law of nature, whereby, whenever the outward air is warmer than the walls of the vent, the air included, being by those walls made colder, and of course denser and heavier than an equal column of the outward air, descends into the room, and in descending draws other air into the vent above to supply its place; which, being in its turn cooled and condensed by the cooler walls of the vent, descends also, and so a current downwards is continued during the continuance of such difference in temperament between the outward air and the walls of the vent.

When this difference is destroyed, by the outward air growing cooler, and the walls growing warmer, the current downwards ceases; and, when the outward air becomes still colder than the walls, the current changes and moves from below upwards, the warmer walls rarefying the air they include, and thereby making it so much lighter than a column of the outward air of equal height, that it is obliged to give way to the other's superior weight and rise, is succeeded by colder air, which being warmed and rarefied in its turn, rises also, and so the upward current is continued. In summer, when fires are not made in the chimneys, the current generally sets downward from nine or ten in the morning during all the heat

of the day, till five or six in the afternoon, then begins to hesitate, and afterwards to set upwards during the night, continuing till about nine in the morning, then hesitating for some time before it again sets downwards for the day. This is the general course, with some occasional variation of hours, according to the length of days or changes of weather.

Now when the air of any vent is in this descending state, if the smoke issuing from a neighbouring vent happens to be carried over it by the wind, part will be drawn in and brought down into the room. The proper remedy then is, to close the opening of the chimney in the room by a board so fitted that little or no air can pass, whereby the currents abovementioned will be prevented. This board to remain during the summer, and when fires are not made in the chimney. Chimneys that have fires in them daily are not subject to this inconvenience, the walls of their vents being kept too warm to occasion any downward current during the hours between the going out of one fire and the kindling of another. And indeed, in summer, those vents that happen to go up close joined with the kitchen vent, are generally kept so warm by that as to be free from the downward current, and therefore free from what you call neighbour smoke.

The Philadelphia grate which you mention is a very good thing, if you could get one that is rightly made, and a workman skilful in putting them up. Those generally made and used here are much hurt by fancied improvements in their construction, and I cannot recommend them. As fuel with you is cheap and plenty, a saving in it is scarce an object. The sliding plates (of which I sent a model to Sir Alexander Dick) are, in my opinion, the most convenient for your purpose, as they keep a room sufficiently warm, are simple

machines, easily fixed, and their management easily conceived and understood by servants.

I shall leave Europe with much greater regret, if I cannot first visit you and my other friends in Scotland. I promise myself this happiness, but am not yet clear that I shall have time for it. Your kind invitation is extremely obliging.

With sincere esteem I am, my dear friend,

Yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

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463. TO THE PRINTER OF THE *GAZETTEER*,[1] MARCH 8, 1768

. . . . . .

Boston man as I am, Sir, and inimical, as my country is represented to be, I hate neither *England* or *Englishmen*, driven (though my ancestors were) by mistaken oppression of former times, out of this happy country, to suffer all the hardships of an *American* wilderness. I retain no resentment on that account. I wish prosperity to the nation; I honour, esteem, and love its people. I only hate calumniators and boutefeus on either side the water, who would for the little dirty purposes of faction, set brother against brother, turn friends into mortal enemies, and ruin an empire by dividing it. — The very injurious treatment *America* has lately received, in so many *London* prints, may have some tendency to alienate still more the affections of that country from this; but as your papers extend thither, I wish our people may by their means be informed, that those abuses do not flow from

[1] Printed here from Goddard's *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, December 12, 1768. — ED.

the general sense of the people here; that they are the productions of a few unknown angry writers, heated by an election contest, who rave against *America*, because a candidate they would decry once lived there, and happens to be otherwise unexceptionable: writers who (as I have shewn) *abuse* their own country as virulently as they do ours; and whose invectives are disapproved by all people of understanding and moderation. Let it be known that there is much good will towards *America* in the generality of this nation; and that however government may sometimes happen to be mistaken or misled, with relation to *American* interests, there is no general intention to oppress us; and that therefore, we may rely upon having every real grievance removed on proper representations. By spreading these truths in your paper through *America*, Sir, you may come to deserve a share in that blessing which is promised to the peace-makers, when only its reverse can be expected by these unhappy writers.

East-Greenwich, March 8, 1768

NEW-ENGLAND.

464. TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY[1]

London, March 13, 1768.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote to you very fully by Falconer, of February 17, and have since received yours of January 21, together with one from the Committee, and the messages which, as you will see by my answer to the Committee, I communicated to Lord Hillsborough. His Lordship read them deliberately, and took notice that the message of the Assembly seemed to insinuate, that the governor had been tardy in bringing the

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 275. — ED.

former murderers to justice, which gave me an opportunity of explaining that matter to him; whereby he might also understand why the Proprietor had not shown him the messages when he communicated the governor's letter concerning the Indian uneasinesses, the law under his consideration for removing them, the late murder, and his proclamation. I shall wait on his Lordship again next Wednesday, on our affairs, and show him moreover your letter with some other papers.

The old Parliament is gone, and its enemies now find themselves at liberty to abuse it. I inclose you a pamphlet, published the very hour of its prorogation. All the members are now in their counties and boroughs among their drunken electors; much confusion and disorder in many places, and such profusion of money as never was known before on any similar occasion. The first instance of bribery to be chosen a member, taken notice of on the journals, is no longer ago than Queen Elizabeth's time, when the being sent to Parliament was looked upon as a troublesome service, and therefore not sought after. It is said that such a one, "being a simple man, and conceiving it might be of some advantage to him, had given *four pounds* to the mayor and corporation, that they might choose him to serve them in Parliament."

The price is monstrously risen since that time, for it is now no less than *four thousand pounds!* It is thought, that near two millions will be spent this election; but those, who understand figures and act by computation, say the crown has *two millions a year in places and pensions to dispose of*, and it is well worth while to engage in such a seven years' lottery, though all that have tickets should not get prizes. I am, my dear friend, yours affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

465. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN [1]

London, March 13, 1768.

Dear Son,

I have received all together your letters of January 6, 21, and 22: It had been a great while that I had not heard from you. The purpose of settling the new colonies seems at present to be dropped, the change of American administration not appearing favourable to it. There seems rather to be an inclination to abandon the posts in the back country as more expensive than useful; but counsels are so continually fluctuating here that nothing can be depended on. The new secretary, my Lord Hillsborough, is I find, of opinion, that the troops should be placed, the chief part of them, in Canada and Florida, only three battalions to be quartered in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; and that Forts Pitt, Oswego, Niagara, &c., should be left to the colonies to garrison and keep up, if they think it necessary, for the protection of their trade, &c. Probably his opinion may be followed, if the new changes do not produce other ideas.

As to my own sentiments, I am weary of suggesting them to so many different inattentive heads, though I must continue to do it while I stay among them. The letters from Sir William Johnson, relating to the boundary, were at last found, and orders were sent over about Christmas for completing the purchase and settlement of it. My Lord H.[illsborough] has promised me to send duplicates by this packet, and urge the speedy execution, as we represented to him the

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 270. — Ed.

danger, that these dissatisfactions of the Indians might produce a war. But I can tell you there are many here to whom the news of such a war would give pleasure; who speak of it as a thing to be wished; partly as a chastisement to the colonies, and partly to make them feel the want of protection from this country, and pray for it. For it is imagined that we could not possibly defend ourselves against the Indians without such assistance, so little is the state of America understood here.

My Lord H. mentioned the "Farmer's Letters" to me, said he had read them, that they were well written, and he believed he could guess who was the author, looking in my face at the same time, as if he thought it was me. He censured the doctrines as extremely wild, &c. I have read them as far as No. 8. I know not if any more have been published. I should have thought they had been written by Mr. Delancey, not having heard any mention of the others you point out as joint authors.[1] I am not yet master of the idea these and the New England writers have of the relation between Britain and her colonies. I know not what the Boston people mean by the "subordination" they acknowledge in their Assembly to Parliament, while they deny its power to make laws for them, nor what bounds the Farmer sets to the power he acknowledges in Parliament to "regulate the trade of the colonies," it being difficult to draw lines between duties for regulation and those for revenue; and, if the Parliament is to be the judge, it seems to me that establishing such principles of distinction will amount to little.

[1] The "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania" was written by John Dickinson, and published the next year in England with a Preface by Dr. Franklin. — ED.

The more I have thought and read on the subject, the more I find myself confirmed in opinion, that no middle doctrine can be well maintained, I mean not clearly with intelligible arguments. Something might be made of either of the extremes; that Parliament has a power to make *all laws* for us, or that it has a power to make *no laws* for us; and I think the arguments for the latter more numerous and weighty, than those for the former. Supposing that doctrine established, the colonies would then be so many separate states, only subject to the same king, as England and Scotland were before the union. And then the question would be, whether a union like that with Scotland would or would not be advantageous to *the whole*. I should have no doubt of the affirmative, being fully persuaded that it would be best for *the whole*, and that though particular parts might find particular disadvantages in it, they would find greater advantages in the security arising to every part from the increased strength of the whole. But such union is not likely to take place, while the nature of our present relation is so little understood on both sides of the water, and sentiments concerning it remain so widely different.

As to the Farmers' combating, as you say they intend to do, my opinion, that the Parliament might lay duties though not impose internal taxes, I shall not give myself the trouble to defend it. Only to you, I may say, that not only the Parliament of Britain, but every state in Europe, claims and exercises a right of laying duties on the exportation of its own commodities to foreign countries A duty is paid here on coals exported to Holland, and yet England has no right to lay an internal tax on Holland. All goods brought out of France to England, or any other country, are charged with

a small duty in France, which the consumers pay, and yet France has no right to tax other countries. And in my opinion the grievance is not that Britain puts duties upon her own manufactures exported to us, but that she forbids us to buy the like manufactures from any other country. This she does, however, in virtue of her allowed right to regulate the commerce of the whole empire, allowed I mean by the Farmer, though I think whoever would dispute that right might stand upon firmer ground, and make much more of the argument: but my reasons are too many and too long for a letter.

Mr. Grenville complained in the House, that the governors of New Jersey, New Hampshire, East and West Florida, had none of them obeyed the orders sent them, to give an account of the manufactures carried on in their respective provinces. Upon hearing this, I went after the House was up, and got a sight of the reports made by the other governors. They are all much in the same strain, that there are no manufactures of any consequence; in Massachusetts a little coarse woollen only, made in families for their own wear: glass and linen have been tried and failed. Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York much the same. Pennsylvania has tried a linen manufactory, but it is dropped, it being imported cheaper; there is a glasshouse in Lancaster county, but it makes only a little coarse ware for the country neighbours. Maryland is clothed all with English manufactures. Virginia the same, except that in their families they spin a little cotton of their own growing. South Carolina and Georgia none. All speak of the dearness of labour that makes manufactures impracticable. Only the governor of North Carolina parades with a large manufacture in his country, that may be useful to

Britain, of *pine boards;* they having fifty sawmills on one river.

These accounts are very satisfactory here, and induce the Parliament to despise and take no notice of the Boston resolutions. I wish you would send your account before the meeting of next Parliament. You have only to report a glasshouse for coarse window glass and bottles, and some domestic manufactures of linen and woollen for family use, that do not half clothe the inhabitants, all the finer goods coming from England and the like. I believe you will be puzzled to find any other, though I see great puffs in the papers.

The Parliament is up, and the nation in a ferment with the new elections. Great complaints are made that the natural interests of country gentlemen in their neighbouring boroughs is overborne by the moneyed interests of the new people, who have got sudden fortunes in the Indies, or as contractors. *Four thousand pounds* is now the *market price* for a borough. In short, this whole venal nation is now at market, will be sold for about two millions, and might be bought out of the hands of the present bidders (if he would offer half a million more) by the very Devil himself.

I shall wait on Lord H. again next Wednesday, on behalf of the sufferers by Indian and French depredations, to have an allowance of lands out of any new grant made by the Indians, so long solicited, and perhaps still to be solicited, in vain. I am your affectionate father,

B. Franklin.

P. S. I dined yesterday with General Monckton, Major Gates, Colonel Lee,[1] and other officers, who have served in

[1] Afterwards General Gates, and General Charles Lee, of the American Continental Army. — S.

and are friends of America. Monckton inquired kindly after your welfare.

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466. TO THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE IN PENNSYLVANIA [1]

London, March 13, 1768.

GENTLEMEN,

On receipt of your letter of January 20, Mr. Jackson and myself waited on Lord Hillsborough, the new secretary of state for American affairs, and communicated to him the contents, pressing the necessity of enforcing the orders already sent to Sir William Johnson, for immediately settling the affair of the boundary line with the Indians. His Lordship was pleased to assure us, that he would cause duplicates of the orders to be forwarded by this packet, and urge the completion of them.

We communicated also the copy of General Gage's letter, and the messages that had passed between the governor and the House thereupon. His Lordship acquainted us that a letter from Governor Penn had been shown him by the Proprietor, importing that a horrid murder had lately been committed on the Indians, upon which the governor had issued a proclamation for apprehending the murderer; and that a bill was under his and the Council's consideration to prevent future settlements on Indian lands. But his Lordship remarked, that these messages had not been communicated to him by the Proprietor.

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 274. — ED.

Government here begins to grow tired of the enormous expense of Indian affairs, and of maintaining posts in the Indian country; and it is now talked of, as a proper measure, to abandon these posts, demolishing all but such as the colonies may think fit to keep up at their own expense; and also to return the management of their own Indian affairs into the hands of the respective provinces as formerly. What the result will be, is uncertain, counsels here being so continually fluctuating. But I have urged often, that after taking those affairs out of our hands, it seems highly incumbent on the ministry not to neglect them, but to see that they are well managed and the Indians kept in peace. I think however that we should not too much depend on their doing this, but look to the matter a little ourselves, taking every opportunity of conciliating the affections of the Indians, by seeing that they always have justice done them, and sometimes kindness. For I can assure you, that here are not wanting people, who though not now in the ministry, no one knows how soon they may be; and if they were ministers, would take no step to prevent an Indian war in the colonies; being of opinion, which they express openly, that it would be a very good thing, in the first place, to chastise the colonists for their undutifulness, and then to make them sensible of the necessity of protection by the troops of this country.

Mr. Jackson, being now taken up with his election business, will hardly have time to write by this opportunity. But he joins with me in respects to you and the Assembly, and assurances of our most faithful services. I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servant,

B. Franklin.

467. TO THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE IN PENNSYLVANIA [1]

London, Saturday, April 16, 1768.

GENTLEMEN,

I have just received your favour of February 20, directed to Mr. Jackson and myself, containing instructions for our conduct relating to the application for a repeal of the duty act, to the change of government, and to the legal tender of paper money; which instructions we shall observe to the best of our abilities. Mr. Jackson has read your letter, and is now reading the messages and other papers transmitted to us, which we shall lay before the secretaries of state on Monday, and thereupon press the necessity of a change in the administration of our province.

The Parliament will have a short session, it is said, in May, when, if any application is made for the repeal of that act, by the agents of the other colonies, we shall join them heartily, and do what we can likewise in the affair of paper money. In the mean time, should an Indian war make it necessary to emit paper money with a legal tender, it may be considered how far the fourth clause in the act of the 24 Geo. II. might give countenance to your providing in that way for the emergency; that act not being altered or repealed by any later, it seems as if the Parliament thought that clause not improper, though they have not expressly made the same provision for the other colonies. The mail being to go this evening, I can only add, that I am with the utmost respect for you and the Assembly, Gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 276. — ED.

468. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN[1]

London, April 16, 1768.

Dear Son,

Since my last, a long one, of March 13th, nothing has been talked or thought of here but elections. There have been amazing contests all over the kingdom, *twenty* or *thirty thousand pounds* of a side spent in several places, and inconceivable mischief done by debauching the people and making them idle, besides the immediate actual mischief done by drunken mad mobs to houses, windows, &c. The scenes have been horrible. London was illuminated two nights running at the command of the mob for the success of Wilkes, in the Middlesex election. The second night exceeded any thing of the kind ever seen here on the greatest occasions of rejoicing, as even the small cross-streets, lanes, courts, and other out-of-the-way places were all in a blaze with lights, and the principal streets all night long, as the mobs went round again after two o'clock, and obliged people who had extinguished their candles to light them again. Those who refused had all their windows destroyed. The damage done, and expense of candles, has been computed at *fifty thousand pounds*. It must have been great, though probably not so much.

The ferment is not yet over, for he has promised to surrender himself to the court next Wednesday, and another tumult is then expected; and what the upshot will be no one can yet foresee. It is really an extraordinary event to see an outlaw and an exile, of bad personal character, not worth a

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 277. — Ed.

farthing, come over from France, set himself up as candidate for the capital of the kingdom, miss his election only by being too late in his application, and immediately carrying it for the principal county; the mob (spirited up by numbers of different ballads sung or roared in every street) requiring gentlemen and ladies of all ranks, as they passed in their carriages, to shout for Wilkes and liberty, marking the same words on all their coaches with chalk, and No. 45 [1] on every door; which extends a vast way along the roads into the country. I went last week to Winchester, and observed, that for fifteen miles out of town there was scarce a door or window shutter next the road unmarked; and this continued, here and there, quite to Winchester, which is sixty-four miles.

B. FRANKLIN.

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469. ON THE LABOURING POOR [2]

SIR,

I have met with much invective in the papers, for these two years past, against the hard-heartedness of the rich, and much complaint of the great oppressions suffered in this country by the labouring poor. Will you admit a word or two on the other side of the question? I do not propose to be an advocate for oppression or oppressors. But when I see that the poor are, by such writings, exasperated against the rich, and excited to insurrections, by which much mischief is done, and some forfeit their lives, I could wish the

[1] Wilkes was prosecuted for publishing a libel against the government in a paper called the "North Briton." Parliament ordered "No. 45" of that paper, in which the libel was contained, to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. — S.

[2] From *The Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1768, p. 156. — ED.

true state of things were better understood, the poor not made by these busy writers more uneasy and unhappy than their situation subjects them to be, and the nation not brought into disrepute among foreigners, by public groundless accusations of ourselves, as if the rich in England had no compassion for the poor, and Englishmen wanted common humanity.

In justice, then to this country, give me leave to remark, that the condition of the poor here is, by far, the best in Europe, for that, except in England and her American colonies, there is not in any country of the known world, not even in Scotland or Ireland, a provision by law to enforce a support of the poor. Everywhere else necessity reduces to beggary. This law was not made by the poor. The legislators were men of fortune. By that act they voluntarily subjected their own estates, and the estates of all others, to the payment of a tax for the maintenance of the poor, incumbering those estates with a kind of rent-charge for that purpose, whereby the poor are vested with an inheritance, as it were, in all the estates of the rich. I wish they were benefited by this generous provision in any degree equal to the good intention, with which it was made, and is continued: But I fear the giving mankind a dependance on any thing for support, in age or sickness, besides industry and frugality during youth and health, tends to flatter our natural indolence, to encourage idleness and prodigality, and thereby to promote and increase poverty, the very evil it was intended to cure; thus multiplying beggars instead of diminishing them.

Besides this tax, which the rich in England have subjected themselves to, in behalf of the poor, amounting in some

places to five or six shillings in the pound, of the annual income, they have, by donations and subscriptions, erected numerous schools in various parts of the kingdom, for educating gratis the children of the poor in reading and writing, and in many of those schools the children are also fed and cloathed. They have erected hospitals at an immense expence for the reception and cure of the sick, the lame, the wounded, and the insane poor, for lying-in women, and deserted children. They are also continually contributing towards making up losses occasioned by fire, by storms, or by floods, and to relieve the poor in severe seasons of frost, in times of scarcity, &c., in which benevolent and charitable contributions no nation exceeds us. Surely, there is some gratitude due for so many instances of goodness.

Add to this all the laws made to discourage foreign manufactures, by laying heavy duties on them, or totally prohibiting them, whereby the rich are obliged to pay much higher prices for what they wear and consume, than if the trade was open: These are so many laws for the support of our labouring poor, made by the rich, and continued at their expence; all the difference of price, between our own and foreign commodities, being so much given by our rich to our poor; who would indeed be enabled by it to get by degrees above poverty, if they did not, as too generally they do, consider every encrease of wages, only as something that enables them to drink more and work less; so that their distress in sickness, age, or times of scarcity, continues to be the same as if such laws had never been made in their favour.

Much malignant censure have some writers bestowed upon the rich for their luxury and expensive living, while the poor are starving, &c.; not considering that what the rich expend,

the labouring poor receive in payment for their labour. It may seem a paradox if I should assert, that our labouring poor do in every year receive *the whole revenue of the nation;* I mean not only the public revenue, but also the revenue or clear income of all private estates, or a sum equivalent to the whole.

In support of this position I reason thus. The rich do not work for one another. Their habitations, furniture, cloathing, carriages, food, ornaments, and every thing in short, that they or their families use and consume, is the work or produce of the labouring poor, who are, and must be continually, paid for their labour in producing the same. In these payments the revenues of private estates are expended, for most people live up to their incomes. In cloathing or provision for troops, in arms, ammunition, ships, tents, carriages, &c. &c., (every particular the produce of labour,) much of the public revenue is expended. The pay of officers, civil and military, and of the private soldiers and sailors, requires the rest; and they spend that also in paying for what is produced by the labouring poor.

I allow that some estates may increase by the owners spending less than their income; but then I conceive that other estates do at the same time diminish by the owners spending more than their income, so that when the enriched want to buy more land, they easily find lands in the hands of the impoverished, whose necessities oblige them to sell; and thus this difference is equalled. I allow also, that part of the expence of the rich is in foreign produce or manufactures, for producing which the labouring poor of other nations must be paid; but then I say, we must first pay our own labouring poor for an equal quantity of our manufactures

or produce, to exchange for those foreign productions, or we must pay for them in money, which money, not being the natural produce of our country, must first be purchased from abroad, by sending out its value in the produce or manufactures of this country, for which manufactures our labouring poor are to be paid. And indeed, if we did not export more than we import, we could have no money at all. I allow farther, that there are middle men, who make a profit, and even get estates, by purchasing the labour of the poor, and selling it at advanced prices to the rich; but then they cannot enjoy that profit, or the incomes of estates, but by spending them in employing and paying our labouring poor, in some shape or other, for the products of industry. Even beggars, pensioners, hospitals, and all that are supported by charity, spend their incomes in the same manner. So that finally, as I said at first, *our labouring poor receive annually the whole of the clear revenues of the nation*, and from us they can have no more.

If it be said that their wages are too low, and that they ought to be better paid for their labour, I heartily wish any means could be fallen upon to do it, consistent with their interest and happiness; but, as the cheapness of other things is owing to the plenty of those things, so the cheapness of labour is in most cases owing to the multitude of labourers, and to their under-working one another in order to obtain employment. How is this to be remedied? A law might be made to raise their wages; but, if our manufactures are too dear, they will not vend abroad, and all that part of employment will fail, unless by fighting and conquering we compel other nations to buy our goods, whether they will or no, which some have been mad enough at times to propose.

Among ourselves, unless we give our working people less employment, how can we, for what they do, pay them higher than we do? Out of what fund is the additional price of labour to be paid, when all our present incomes are, as it were, mortgaged to them? Should they get higher wages, would that make them less poor, if, in consequence, they worked fewer days of the week proportionably? I have said, a law might be made to raise their wages; but I doubt much whether it could be executed to any purpose, unless another law, now indeed almost obsolete, could at the same time be revived and enforced; a law, I mean, that many have often heard and repeated, but few have ever duly considered. SIX *days shalt thou labour.* This is as positive a part of the commandment, as that which says, *The* SEVENTH *day thou shalt rest.* But we remember well to observe the indulgent part, and never think of the other. *Saint Monday* is generally as duly kept by our working people as *Sunday;* the only difference is, that, instead of employing their time cheaply at church, they are wasting it expensively at the alehouse.

I am, Sir, &c. MEDIUS.

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470. PREFACE TO THE "LETTERS FROM A FARMER IN PENNSYLVANIA."[1] (A. P. S.)

THE ENGLISH EDITOR TO THE READER

[When I consider our fellow subjects in America as rational creatures, I cannot but wonder, that, during the present wide

[1] Passages enclosed in brackets are not found in the Ms. in A. P. S. — ED.

difference of sentiments in the two countries, concerning the power of Parliament in laying taxes and duties on America, no application has been made to their understandings, no able and learned pen among us has been employed in convincing them that they are in the wrong; proving clearly, that, by the established law of nations, or by the terms of their original constitution, they are taxable by our Parliament *though they have no representative in it.*

On the contrary, whenever there is any news of discontent in America, the cry is, "Send over an army or a fleet, and reduce the dogs to *reason.*"]

It is said of choleric People, that with them there is *but a Word and a Blow.*

I hope *Britain* is not so choleric, and will never be so angry with her *Colonies* as to *strike* them. But that if she should ever think it may be necessary, she will at least let the *Word* go before the *Blow*, and reason with them.

To do this clearly, and with the most probability of Success, by removing their Prejudices and rectifying their Misapprehensions (if they are such), it will be necessary to learn what those Prejudices and Misapprehensions are; and before we can either refute or admit to answer their Reasons, we should certainly know them.

It is to that End I have handed the following Letters (lately published in America) to the Press here. [They were occasioned by the act made (since the repeal of the Stamp Act) for raising a revenue in America by duties on glass, paper, &c.]

The Author is a Gentleman of Repute in that Country for his Knowledge of its Affairs, and, it is said, speaks the *general Sentiments* of the Inhabitants. How far those Sentiments are right or wrong, I do not pretend at present to judge.

I wish to see first what can be said on the other Side of the Question. I hope this Publication will produce a full Answer, if we can make one. If it does, this Publication will have had its Use. No Offence to Government is intended by it; and it is hoped none will be taken.

London, May 8, 1768. N. N.

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471. TO SIR JOHN PRINGLE[1]

SIR, Craven Street, May 10, 1768.

You may remember, that when we were travelling together in *Holland*, you remarked, that the trackschuyt in one of the stages went slower than usual, and inquired of the boatman, what might be the reason; who answered, that it had been a dry season, and the water in the canal was low. On being again asked if it was so low as that the boat touched the muddy bottom; he said, no, not so low as that, but so low as to make it harder for the horse to draw the boat. We neither of us at first could conceive that if there was water enough for the boat to swim clear of the bottom, its being deeper would make any difference; but as the man affirmed it seriously as a thing well known among them; and as the punctuality required in their stages, was likely to make such difference, if any there were, more readily observed by them, than by other watermen who did not pass so regularly and constantly backwards and forwards in the same track; I began to apprehend there might be something in it, and attempted to account for it from this consideration, that the boat in proceeding along the canal, must in every boat's length of her course, move out of her way a body of water,

[1] From "Experiments and Observations on Electricity," London, 1769, p. 492. — ED.

equal in bulk to the room her bottom took up in the water; that the water so moved, must pass on each side of her and under her bottom to get behind her; that if the passage under her bottom was straitened by the shallows, more of that water must pass by her sides, and with a swifter motion, which would retard her, as moving the contrary way; or that the water becoming lower behind the boat than before, she was pressed back by the weight of its difference in height, and her motion retarded by having that weight constantly to overcome. But as it is often lost time to attempt accounting for uncertain facts, I determined to make an experiment of this, when I should have convenient time and opportunity.

After our return to *England*, as often as I happened to be on the *Thames*, I inquired of our watermen whether they were sensible of any difference in rowing over shallow or deep water. I found them all agreeing in the fact, that there was a very great difference, but they differed widely in expressing the quantity of the difference; some supposing it was equal to a mile in six, others to a mile in three, &c. As I did not recollect to have met with any mention of this matter in our philosophical books, and conceiving that if the difference should really be great, it might be an object of consideration in the many projects now on foot for digging new navigable canals in this island, I lately put my design of making the experiment in execution, in the following manner.

I provided a trough of plained boards fourteen feet long, six inches wide and six inches deep, in the clear, filled with water within half an inch of the edge, to represent a canal. I had a loose board of nearly the same length and breadth, that being put into the water might be sunk to any depth, and fixed by little wedges where I would chuse to have it

stay, in order to make different depths of water, leaving the surface at the same height with regard to the sides of the trough. I had a little boat in form of a lighter or boat of burthen, six inches long, two inches and a quarter wide, and one inch and a quarter deep. When swimming, it drew one inch water. To give motion to the boat, I fixed one end of a long silk thread to its bow, just even with the water's edge, the other end passed over a well made brass pully, of about an inch diameter, turning freely on a small axis; and a shilling was the weight. Then placing the boat at one end of the trough, the weight would draw it through the water to the other.

Not having a watch that shows seconds, in order to measure the time taken up by the boat in passing from end to end, I counted as fast as I could count to ten repeatedly, keeping an account of the number of tens on my fingers. And as much as possible to correct any little inequalities in my counting, I repeated the experiment a number of times at each depth of water, that I might take the medium. And the following are the results.

	Water 1½ inches deep.	2 inches.	4½ inches.
1st exp.	100	94	79
2	104	93	78
3	104	91	77
4	106	87	79
5	100	88	79
6	99	86	80
7	100	90	79
8	100	88	81
	813	717	642
	Medium 101	Medium 89	Medium 79

I made many other experiments, but the above are those in which I was most exact; and they serve sufficiently to show that the difference is considerable. Between the deepest and shallowest it appears to be somewhat more than one fifth. So that supposing large canals and boats and depths of water to bear the same proportions, and that four men or horses would draw a boat in deep water four leagues in four hours, it would require five to draw the same boat in the same time as far in shallow water; or four would require five hours.

Whether this difference is of consequence enough to justify a greater expence in deepening canals, is a matter of calculation, which our ingenious engineers in that way will readily determine.

I am, &c.

B. Franklin.

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472. TO JOHN ROSS[1]

London, May 14, 1768.

Dear Sir,

I received your favour of March 13th, and am extremely concerned at the disorders on our frontiers, and at the debility or wicked connivance of our government and magistrates, which must make property and even life more and more insecure among us, if some effectual remedy is not speedily applied. I have laid all the accounts before the ministry here. I wish I could procure more attention to them. I have urged over and over the necessity of the change we desire; but this country itself being at present in a situation

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 278. — Ed.

very little better, weakens our argument that a royal government would be better managed, and safer to live under, than that of a proprietary. Even this capitol, the residence of the King, is now a daily scene of lawless riot and confusion. Mobs patrolling the streets at noonday, some knocking all down that will not roar for Wilkes and liberty; courts of justice afraid to give judgment against him; coal-heavers and porters pulling down the houses of coal merchants, that refuse to give them more wages; sawyers destroying saw-mills; sailors unrigging all the outward bound ships, and suffering none to sail till merchants agree to raise their pay; watermen destroying private boats and threatening bridges; soldiers firing among the mobs and killing men, women, and children, which seems only to have produced a universal sullenness, that looks like a great black cloud coming on, ready to burst in a general tempest.

What the event will be God only knows. But some punishment seems preparing for a people, who are ungratefully abusing the best constitution, and the best King, any nation was ever blessed with, intent on nothing but luxury, licentiousness, power, places, pensions, and plunder; while the ministry, divided in their counsels, with little regard for each other, worried by perpetual oppositions, in continual apprehension of changes, intent on securing popularity in case they should lose favour, have for some years past had little time or inclination to attend to our small affairs, whose remoteness makes them appear still smaller.

The bishops here are very desirous of securing the Church of England in America, and promoting its interest and enlargement by sending one of their order thither; but though they have long solicited this point with government here,

they have not as yet been able to obtain it; so apprehensive are ministers of engaging in any novel measure.

I hope soon to have an opportunity of conferring with you, and therefore say no more at present on this subject. I am, my dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. Franklin.

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473. TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY[1]

London, May 14, 1768.

Dear Sir,

I received your favour of March 31. It is now with the messages &c. in the hands of the minister, so that I cannot be more particular at present in answering it than to say, I should have a melancholy prospect in going home to such public confusion, if I did not leave greater confusion behind me. The newspapers, and my letter of this day to Mr. Ross, will inform you of the miserable situation this country is in. While I am writing, a great mob of coal porters fills the street, carrying a wretch of their business upon poles to be ducked, and otherwise punished at their pleasure for working at the old wages. All respect to law and government seems to be lost among the common people, who are moreover continually inflamed by seditious scribblers, to trample on authority and every thing that used to keep them in order.

The Parliament is now sitting, but will not continue long together, nor undertake any material business. The court of King's Bench postponed giving sentence against Wilkes

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol VI, p. 280. — Ed.

on his outlawry till the next term, intimidated as some say by his popularity, and willing to get rid of the affair for a time, till it should be seen what the Parliament would conclude as to his membership. The Commons at least some of them, resent that conduct, which has thrown a burthen on them it might have eased them of, by pillorying or punishing him in some infamous manner, that would have given better ground for expelling him the House. His friends complain of it as a delay of justice, say the court knew the outlawry to be defective, and that they must finally pronounce it void, but would punish him by long confinement. Great mobs of his adherents have assembled before the prison, the guards have fired on them; it is said five or six are killed, and sixteen or seventeen wounded; and some circumstances have attended this military execution, such as its being done by the Scotch regiment, the pursuing a lad, and killing him at his father's house, &c. &c., that exasperate people exceedingly, and more mischief seems brewing. Several of the soldiers are imprisoned. If they are not hanged, it is feared there will be more and greater mobs; and, if they are, that no soldier will assist in suppressing any mob hereafter. The prospect either way is gloomy. It is said the English soldiers cannot be confided in, to act against these mobs, being suspected as rather inclined to favour and join them.

I am preparing for my return, and hope for the pleasure of finding you well, when I shall have an opportunity of communicating to you more particularly the state of things here relating to our American affairs, which I cannot so well do by letter. I enclose for you a report of Sir M—— L——,[1]

[1] Sir Matthew Lamb (1705–1768), member of Lincoln's Inn, grandfather of William Lamb, second Viscount Melbourne. He died November 5, 1768. — Ed.

counsel to the Board of Trade, on one of your late acts. I suppose it has had its effect, so that the repeal will be of little consequence. In the mean time, I am with sincere esteem and affection, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

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474. TO JOHN WINTHROP[1]

London, July 2, 1768.

DEAR SIR,

You must needs think the time long that your instruments have been in hand. Sundry circumstances have occasioned the delay. Mr. Short, who undertook to make the telescope, was long in a bad state of health, and much in the country for the benefit of the air. He however at length finished the material parts that required his own hand, and waited only for something about the mounting, that was to have been done by another workman; when he was removed by death. I have put in my claim to the instrument, and shall obtain it from the executors as soon as his affairs can be settled. It is now become much more valuable than it would have been if he had lived, as he excelled all others in that branch. The price agreed for was one hundred pounds.

The equal altitudes and transit instrument was undertaken by Mr. Bird, who doing all his work with his own hands for the sake of greater truth and exactness, one must have patience that expects any thing from him. He is so singularly eminent in his way, that the commissioners of longitude have lately given him five hundred pounds merely

[1] In part in "Experiments and Observations on Electricity," London, 1769, p. 486. — ED.

to discover and make public his method of dividing instruments. I send it you herewith. But what has made him longer in producing your instrument is, the great and hasty demand on him from France and Russia, and our Society here, for instruments to go to different parts of the world for observing the next transit of Venus; some to be used in Siberia, some for the observers that go to the South Seas, some for those that go to Hudson's Bay. These are now all completed, and mostly gone, it being necessary, on account of the distance, that they should go this year to be ready on the spot in time. And now, he tells me, he can finish yours, and that I shall have it next week. Possibly he may keep his word. But we are not to wonder if he does not.

Mr. Martin, when I called to see his panopticon, had not one ready; but was to let me know when he should have one to show me. I have not since heard from him, but will call again.

Mr. Maskelyne wishes much that some of the governments in North America would send an astronomer to Lake Superior, to observe this transit. I know no one of them likely to have a spirit for such an undertaking, unless it be the Massachusetts, or that have a person and instruments suitable. He presents you one of his pamphlets, which I now send you, together with two letters from him to me, relating to that observation. If your health and strength were sufficient for such an expedition, I should be glad to hear you had undertaken it. Possibly you may have an *élève* that is capable. The fitting you out to observe the former transit, was a public act for the benefit of science, that did your province great honour.

We expect soon a new volume of the Transactions, in which

your piece will be printed. I have not yet got the separate ones which I ordered.

It is perhaps not so extraordinary that unlearned men, such as commonly compose our church vestries, should not yet be acquainted with, and sensible of the benefits of metal conductors in averting the stroke of lightning, and preserving our houses from its violent effects, or that they should be still prejudiced against the use of such conductors, when we see how long even philosophers, men of extensive science and great ingenuity, can hold out against the evidence of new knowledge, that does not square with their preconceptions; and how long men can retain a practice that is conformable to their prejudices, and expect a benefit from such practice, though constant experience shows its inutility. A late piece of the Abbé *Nollet*, printed last year in the Memoirs of the French Academy of Sciences, affords strong instances of this: For though the very relations he gives of the effects of lightning in several churches and other buildings show clearly, that it was conducted from one part to another by wires, gildings, and other pieces of metal that were *within*, or connected with the building, yet in the same paper he objects to the providing metalline conductors *without* the building, as useless or dangerous. He cautions people not to ring the church bells during a thunder-storm, lest the lightning, in its way to the earth, should be conducted down to them by the bell-ropes, which are but bad conductors; and yet is against fixing metal rods on the outside of the steeple, which are known to be much better conductors, and which it would certainly chuse to pass in, rather than in dry hemp. And though for a thousand years past bells have been solemnly consecrated by the Romish Church, in expectation that the

sound of such blessed bells would drive away those storms, and secure our buildings from the stroke of lightning; and during so long a period, it has not been found by experience, that places within the reach of such blessed sound, are safer than others where it is never heard; but that on the contrary, the lightning seems to strike steeples of choice, and that at the very time the bells are ringing; yet still they continue to bless the new bells, and jangle the old ones whenever it thunders. One would think it was now time to try some other trick; and ours is recommended (whatever this able philosopher may have been told to the contrary) by more than twelve years' experience, wherein, among the great number of houses furnished with iron rods in North America, not one so guarded has been materially hurt with lightning, and several have been evidently preserved by their means; while a number of houses, churches, barns, ships, &c. in different places, unprovided with rods, have been struck and greatly damaged, demolished, or burnt. Probably the vestries of our English churches are not generally well acquainted with these facts; otherwise, since as good Protestants they have no faith in the blessing of bells, they would be less excusable in not providing this other security for their respective churches, and for the good people that may happen to be assembled in them during a tempest, especially as those buildings, from their greater height, are more exposed to the stroke of lightning than our common dwellings.

I have nothing new in the philosophical way to communicate to you, except what follows. When I was last year in *Germany*, I met with a singular kind of glass, being a tube about eight inches long, half an inch in diameter, with a hollow ball of near an inch diameter at one end, and one of

an inch and half at the other, hermetically sealed, and half filled with water. If one end is held in hand, and the other a little elevated above the level, a constant succession of large bubbles proceeds from the end in the hand to the other end, making an appearance that puzzled me much, 'till I found that the space not filled with water was also free from air, and either filled with a subtile, invisible vapour continually rising from the water, and extreamly rarifiable by the least heat at one end, and condensable again by the least coolness at the other; or it is the very fluid of fire itself, which parting from the hand pervades the glass, and by its expansive force depresses the water till it can pass between it and the glass, and escape to the other end, where it gets thro' the glass again into the air. I am rather inclined to the first opinion, but doubtful between the two.

An ingenious artist here, Mr. *Nairne*, mathematical instrument-maker, has made a number of them from mine, and improved them,[1] for his are much more sensible than those I brought from Germany. I bor'd a very small hole through the wainscot in the seat of my window, through which a little cold air constantly entered, while the air in the room was kept warmer by fires daily made in it, being winter time. I plac'd one of his glasses, with the elevated end against this hole; and the bubbles from the other end, which was in a warmer situation, were continually passing day and night, to the no small surprize of even philosophical spectators. Each bubble discharged, is larger than that from which it proceeds, and yet that is not diminished; and by adding itself to the bubble at the other end, that bubble is not increased, which seems very paradoxical.

[1] See Introduction, Vol. I, p. 52. — Ed.

When the balls at each end are made larger, and the connecting tube very small and bent at right angles, so that the balls, instead of being at the ends, are brought on the side of the tube, and the tube is held so as that the balls are above it, the water will be depressed in that which is held in the hand, and rise in the other as a jet or fountain; when it is all in the other, it begins to boil, as it were, by the vapour passing up through it; and the instant it begins to boil, a sudden coldness is felt in the ball held; a curious experiment, this, first observed and shewn me by Mr. *Nairne*. There is something in it similar to the old observation, I think mentioned by *Aristotle*, that the bottom of a boiling pot is not warm; and perhaps it may help to explain that fact; if indeed it be a fact.

When the water stands at an equal height in both these balls, and all at rest; if you wet one of the balls by means of a feather dipt in spirit, though that spirit is of the same temperament as to heat and cold, with the water in the glasses, yet the cold occasioned by the evaporation of the spirit from the wetted ball will so condense the vapour over the water contained in that ball, as that the water of the other ball will be pressed up into it, followed by a succession of bubbles, 'till the spirit is all dried away. Perhaps the observations on these little instruments may suggest and be applied to some beneficial uses. It has been thought that water reduced to vapour by heat was rarified only fourteen thousand times, and on this principle our engines for raising water by fire are said to be constructed: But if the vapour so much rarified from water, is capable of being itself still farther rarified to a boundless degree by the application of heat to the vessels or parts of vessels containing the vapour (as at

first it is applied to those containing the water) perhaps a much greater power may be obtained, with little additional expence. Possibly too, the power of easily moving water from one end to the other of a moveable beam (suspended in the middle like a scale-beam) by a small degree of heat, may be applied advantageously to some other mechanical purposes.

The magic square and circle, I am told, have occasioned a good deal of puzzling among the mathematicians here; but no one has desired me to show him my method of disposing the numbers. It seems they wish rather to investigate it themselves. When I have the pleasure of seeing you, I will communicate it.

With singular esteem and respect, I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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475. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN[1]

London, July 2, 1768.

DEAR SON,

Since my last, I have received yours of May 10, dated at Amboy, which I shall answer particularly by next week's packet. I purpose now to take notice of that part wherein you say it was reported at Philadelphia I was to be appointed to a certain office here, which my friends all wished, but you did not believe it for the reason I had mentioned. Instead of my being appointed to a new office, there has been a mo-

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 281 — ED.

tion made to deprive me of that I now hold,[1] and, I believe, for the same reason, though that was not the reason given out, viz. my being too much of an American; but, as it came from Lord Sandwich, our new postmaster-general, who is of the Bedford party, and a friend of Mr. Grenville, I have no doubt that the reason he gave out, viz. my non-residence, was only the pretence, and that the other was the true reason; especially as it is the practice in many other instances to allow the non-residence of American officers who spend their salaries here, provided care is taken that the business be done by deputy or otherwise.

The first notice I had of this was from my fast friend Mr. Cooper, secretary of the treasury. He desired me by a little note to call upon him there, which I did, when he told me, that the Duke of Grafton had mentioned to him some discourse of Lord Sandwich's, as if the office suffered by my absence, and that it would be fit to appoint another, as I seemed constantly to reside in England: that Mr. Todd, secretary of the postoffice, had also been with the Duke, talking to the same purpose, &c.; that the Duke had wished him (Mr. Cooper) to mention this to me, and to say to me at the same time that though my going to my post might remove the objection, yet if I choose rather to reside in England, my merit was such in his opinion, as to entitle me to something better here, and it should not be his fault if I was not well provided for. I told Mr. Cooper that without having heard any exception had been taken to my residence here, I was really preparing to return home, and expected to be gone in a few weeks; that however I was extremely sensible of the Duke's goodness, in giving me this intimation,

[1] Deputy Postmaster-General in America. — Ed.

and very thankful for his favourable disposition towards me; that having lived long in England, and contracted a friendship and affection for many persons here, it could not but be agreeable to me to remain among them some time longer, if not for the rest of my life; and that there was no nobleman, to whom I could, from sincere respect for his great abilities and amiable qualities, so cordially attach myself, or to whom I should so willingly be obliged for the provision he mentioned, as to the Duke of Grafton, if his Grace should think I could, in any station where he might place me, be serviceable to him and to the public.

Mr. Cooper said he was very glad to hear I was still willing to remain in England, as it agreed so perfectly with his inclinations to keep me here. Wished me to leave my name at the Duke of Grafton's as soon as possible, and to be at the treasury again the next board day. I accordingly called at the Duke's, and left my card; and when I went next to the treasury, his Grace not being there, Mr. Cooper carried me to Lord North, chancellor of the exchequer, who said very obligingly, after talking of some American affairs, "I am told by Mr. Cooper, that you are not unwilling to stay with us. I hope we shall find some way of making it worth your while." I thanked his Lordship, and said I should stay with pleasure, if I could any ways be useful to government. He made me a compliment and I took my leave, Mr. Cooper carrying me away with him to his country-house at Richmond to dine and stay all night.

He then told me that Mr. Todd had been again at the Duke of Grafton's, and that, upon his (Mr. Cooper's) speaking in my behalf, Mr. Todd had changed his style, and said I had to be sure a great deal of merit with the office, having

by my good management regulated the posts in America, so as greatly to increase the revenue; that he had had great satisfaction in corresponding with me while I was there, and he believed they never had a better officer, &c. The Thursday following, being the birthday, I met with Mr. Todd at court. He was very civil, took me with him in his coach to the King's Arms in the city, where I had been invited to dine by Mr. Trevor, with the gentlemen of the post-office; we had a good deal of chat after dinner between us two, in which he told me, Lord Sandwich (who was very sharp) had taken notice of my stay in England, and said, If *one* could do the business, why should there be *two?* On my telling Mr. Todd that I was going home, (which I still say to everybody, not knowing but that what is intimated above may fail of taking effect,) he looked blank, and seemed disconcerted a little, which makes me think some friend of his was to have been vested with my place; but this is surmise only. We parted very good friends.

That day I received another note from Mr. Cooper, directing me to be at the Duke of Grafton's next morning, whose porter had orders to let me in. I went accordingly, and was immediately admitted. But his Grace being then engaged in some unexpected business, with much condescension and politeness made that apology for his not discoursing with me then, but wished me to be at the treasury at twelve the next Tuesday. I went accordingly, when Mr. Cooper told me something had called the Duke into the country, and the board was put off, which was not known till it was too late to send me word; but was glad I was come, as he might then fix another day for me to go again with him into the country. The day fixed was Thursday. I returned yesterday; should

have stayed till Monday, but for writing by these vessels. He assures me the Duke has it at heart to do something handsome for me. Sir John Pringle, who is anxious for my stay, says Mr. Cooper is the honestest man of a courtier that he ever knew, and he is persuaded they are in earnest to keep me.

The piece I wrote against smuggling, in the *Chronicle* of November last, and one in April, on the Labouring Poor, which you will find in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for that month, have been lately shown by Mr. Cooper to the chancellor of the exchequer, and to the Duke, who have expressed themselves much pleased with them. I am to be again at the treasury on Tuesday next, by appointment of Mr. Cooper. Thus particular I have been, that you may judge of this affair.

For my own thoughts, I must tell you that though I did not think fit to decline any favour so great a man expressed an inclination to do me, because at court if one shows an unwillingness to be obliged, it is often construed as a mark of mental hostility, and one makes an enemy; yet so great is my inclination to be at home, and at rest, that I shall not be sorry if this business falls through, and I am suffered to retire with my old post; nor indeed very sorry if they take that from me too on account of my zeal for America, in which some of my friends have hinted to me that I have been too open. I shall soon be able, I hope, by the next packet, to give you farther light. In the mean time, as no one but Sir John knows of the treaty, I talk daily of going in the August packet at farthest. And when the late Georgia appointment of me to be their agent is mentioned, as what may detain me, I say, I have yet received no letters from that

Assembly, acquainting me what their business may be; that I shall probably hear from them before that packet sails; that, if it is extraordinary and of such a nature as to make my stay another winter necessary, I may possibly stay, because there would not be time for them to choose another; but, if it is common business, I shall leave it with Mr. Jackson and proceed.

I do not, by the way, know how that appointment came about, having no acquaintance that I can recollect in that country. It has been mentioned in the papers some time, but I have only just now received a letter from Governor Wright, informing me that he had that day given his assent to it, and expressing his desire to correspond with me on all occasions, saying the Committee, as soon as they could get their papers ready, would write to me and acquaint me with their business.

We have lost Lord Clare from the Board of Trade. He took me home from court the Sunday before his removal, that I might dine with him as he said alone, and talk over American affairs. He seemed as attentive to them, as if he was to continue ever so long. He gave me a great deal of flummery; saying, that though at my Examination I answered some of his questions a little pertly, yet he liked me, from that day, for the spirit I showed in defence of my country; and at parting, after we had drank a bottle and a half of claret each, he hugged and kissed me, protesting he never in his life met with a man he was so much in love with. This I write for your amusement. You see by the nature of this whole letter, that it is to yourself only. It may serve to prepare your mind for any event that shall happen.

If Mr. Grenville comes into power again, in any department respecting America, I must refuse to accept of any thing that may seem to put me in his power, because I apprehend a breach between the two countries; and that refusal might give offence. So that you see a turn of a die may make a great difference in our affairs. We may be either promoted, or discarded; one or the other seems likely soon to be the case, but it is hard to divine which. I am myself grown so old as to feel much less than formerly the spur of ambition, and if it were not for the flattering expectation, that by being fixed here I might more effectually serve my country, I should certainly determine for retirement, without a moment's hesitation. I am, as ever, your affectionate father, B. FRANKLIN.

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476. TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY[1]

London, July 2, 1768.

DEAR SIR,

Since my last, nothing material has occurred here relating to American affairs, except the removal of Lord Clare from the head of the Board of Trade to the treasury of Ireland, and the return of Lord Hillsborough to the Board of Trade as first commissioner, retaining the title and powers of secretary of state for the colonies. This change was very sudden and unexpected. My Lord Clare took me home from court to dine with him but two days before, saying he should be without other company, and wanted to talk with me on sundry American businesses. We had accordingly a

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 286. — ED.

good deal of conversation on our affairs, in which he seemed to interest himself with all the attention, that could be supposed in a minister, who expected to continue in the management of them. This was on Sunday, and on the Tuesday following he was removed. Whether my Lord Hillsborough's administration will be more stable, than others have been for a long time, is quite uncertain; but, as his inclinations are rather favourable towards us (so far as he thinks consistent with what he supposes the unquestionable rights of Britain), I cannot but wish it may continue, especially as these perpetual mutations prevent the progress of all business.

But another change is now talked of that gives me great uneasiness. Several of the Bedford party being now got in, it has been for some time apprehended that they would sooner or later draw their friend Mr. Grenville in after them. It is now said, he is to be secretary of state, in the room of Lord Shelburne. If this should take place, or if in any other shape he comes again into power, I fear his sentiments of the Americans, and theirs of him, will occasion such clashings as may be attended with fatal consequences. The last accounts from your part of the world, of the combinations relating to commerce with this country, and resolutions concerning the duties here laid upon it, occasion much serious reflection, and 'tis thought the points in dispute between the two countries will not fail to come under the consideration of Parliament early in next session. Our friends wonder that I persist in my intention of returning this summer, alleging that I might be of much more service to my country here, than I can be there, and wishing me by all means to stay the ensuing winter, as the presence of persons well acquainted with America, and of ability to represent these affairs in a

proper light, will then be highly necessary. My private concerns, however, so much require my presence at home, that I have not yet suffered myself to be persuaded by their partial opinion of me.

The tumults and disorders, that prevailed here lately, have now pretty well subsided. Wilkes's outlawry is reversed, but he is sentenced to twenty-two months imprisonment, and *one thousand pounds* fine, which his friends, who feared he would be pilloried, seem rather satisfied with. The importation of corn, a pretty good hay harvest, now near over, and the prospect of plenty from a fine crop of wheat, makes the poor more patient, in hopes of an abatement in the price of provisions; so that unless want of employment by the failure of American orders should distress them, they are like to be tolerably quiet.

I purpose writing to you again by the packet that goes next Saturday, and therefore now only add that I am, with sincere esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

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477. TO C. W. F. DUMAS[1] (M. H. S.)

Craven Street, London, July 25, 1768.

SIR,

I received your favour of the 20th of April with the very entertaining and informing Books you so obligingly sent me, for which I thank you.

[1] C. W. F. Dumas, a resident of Leyden and later of The Hague, was a secret agent for the colonies in Holland throughout the Revolution. Two hundred and sixty-six letters written by him to Franklin between 1775 and 1785 are among the Franklin papers in A. P. S. He was a man of letters and edited a new edition of Vattel in the winter of 1774–5, and translated numerous works from Dutch into French. — ED.

As you seem only to have seen Extracts in the Magazines from the Account of East Florida, I send you the Book itself, which may afford you some farther Lights concerning the Country. I am not myself otherwise much acquainted with it than from such publick Writings, my Place of Abode, Philadelphia, being near 1000 Miles from Florida. I can only remark to you that generally those who have at heart the Settlement of New Countries, are apt, while they expatiate on the Advantages, to pass over and conceal the Disadvantages, so that a just Idea of the New Country is rarely to be obtained by reading their Accounts. And as you profess a Reliance on my Opinion in the Affair of your removal to America, I must not advise you to go to E. Florida, lest my Unacquaintedness with that Country should lead you into hazardous Mistakes. Besides, when I consider "——" the Hardships usually attending the Settlement of New Countries, and the Sickness and Mortality to which new Settlers, unaccustomed to the Climate, are exposed, I cannot think such Undertakings so fit for Persons of your & your Wife's Age, that have Children depending on them, as for young unmarried Persons, whose Deaths can only affect themselves, or will not be attended with such unhappy Consequences. Therefore, if you cannot remain contented with your Situation in Holland, but are determined on a Country Life in America, my Advice to you would be, to purchase a Plantation ready formed, in one of the old Settled Provinces, New York, New Jersey, or Pensilvania, of which there are Choice continually to be sold, as you will see by the Newspapers that I send you herewith. In either of these three Provinces the three modern Languages you possess, German, Low Dutch & French, may be useful to you, as there are

Numbers of Germans, Hollanders and French among the Inhabitants; — and your other Accomplishments will be of more Value in a well-settled Country, than in a new One thin of People, and you will have more of the Pleasures and Comforts of Neighbourhood & Society. With the money you are like to be possessed of, at the End of your present Contract you may certainly buy and Stock a very good Plantation in one of those flourishing Provinces, where the Climate is healthy, and the Government mild and good, and where if anywhere, Competence and Happiness are within the Reach of every honest, prudent & industrious Man.

I purpose remaining here another Winter, and returning home to Pensilvania in the Spring. I hope your Resolution, whatever it is, may be attended with the Success you wish. If you determine for either of those Provinces, as I live in one of them, my Son in another (N. Jersey) and I have some Friends in the third, N. York, I may possibly be of some utility to you in your Settling, which would be a Pleasure to,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant

B. FRANKLIN.

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478. TO BARBEU DUBOURG [1]

London, July 28, 1768.

I GREATLY approve the epithet which you give, in your letter of the 8th of June, to the new method of treating the small-pox, which you call the *tonic* or bracing method; I

[1] From M. Dubourg's edition of Franklin's Works, Vol. II, p. 310. For a sketch of M. Dubourg, see Vol. I, p. 17. — ED.

will take occasion from it to mention a practice to which I have accustomed myself. You know the cold bath has long been in vogue here as a tonic; but the shock of the cold water has always appeared to me, generally speaking, as too violent, and I have found it much more agreeable to my constitution to bathe in another element, I mean cold air. With this view I rise almost every morning, and sit in my chamber without any clothes whatever, half an hour or an hour, according to the season, either reading or writing. This practice is not in the least painful, but, on the contrary, agreeable; and, if I return to bed afterwards, before I dress myself, as sometimes happens, I make a supplement to my night's rest of one or two hours of the most pleasing sleep that can be imagined. I find no ill consequences whatever resulting from it, and that at least it does not injure my health, if it does not in fact contribute much to its preservation. I shall therefore call it for the future a *bracing* or *tonic* bath.

B. Franklin.

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479. FROM DU PONT DE NEMOURS TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN[1] (P. C.)

Paris ce 10 May, 1768.

Monsieur,

J'ai été infiniment sensible à votre bonté en apprenant par Monsieur le Docteur Quesnay que vous aviez daigné me chercher et vous informer de moi pendant votre dernier séjour à Paris. Malheureusement pour moi vous n'avez vu M. Quesnay que dans les deux ou trois jours qui ont précédé immédiatement votre départ ; je rien ai été instruit que le jour même où vous partiez, et j'ai été privé par là de l'avantage de faire une connaissance directe avec vous.

Avant ce temps, Monsieur, je connaissais bien de vous le Savant, le

[1] From the original in the possession of Col. H. A. Du Pont. Draft in A. P. S. See Franklin's reply, July 28, 1768. — Ed.

Geomètre, le Physicien, l'homme à qui la nature permet de dévoiler ses secrets. Depuis ce temps Monsieur le Docteur Barbeu du Bourg mon ami a bien voulu me communiquer plusieurs de vos écrits relatifs aux affaires de votre patrie. J'ai pris la liberté d'en traduire quelques-ans. J'y ai reconnu à chaque page le philosophe citoyen occupé avec génie du bonheur de ses frères et des intérêts les plus chers de l'humanité. J'ai regretté encore davantage de ne vous avoir point vu pendant le temps que vous avez passé à Paris. Si votre bonheur vous y ramène, Monsieur, je vous prie de me permettre de réparer cette perte le plus amplement qu'il me sera possible.

En attendant recevez les assurances de mon respect et l'hommage de deux écrits imprimés depuis que vous êtes retourné en Angleterre. Le premier et le plus considérable à tous les égards est un recueil des principaux traités économiques du Docteur Quesnay, où, je n'ai mis de moi qu'un discours preliminaire, plusieurs avis très simples de l'éditeur, une table des matières, et quelques notes. Le second est un résumé fort court de la doctrine de ce sage Philosophe. Le souhaite que l'un et l'autre vous plaisent. L'importance de la matière les rend du moins dignes de votre attention. Mais je sens assez combien il faudrait de talens supérieurs aux miens, pour discuter cette matière immense comme elle devrait l'être et comme je désirerais qu'elle le fût. J'y invite les gens de lettres dans le Discours préliminaire de la *Physiocratie*. Sauffrez que je vous invite particulièrement vous même, Monsieur, vous qui possédez des talents si rares et qui savez en faire une application si juste et si rapide aux circonstances où vous vous trouvez. C'est dans le développement évident de tous les droits de l'homme que l'on peut trouver la base et les principes d'un gouvernement à jamais prospère, également utile et sûr pour la nation qui y sera soumise, et avantageux même pour les autres qui émaneront de celle là et qui profiteront de son amour pour la paix, pour la liberté, y trouvant de la franchise et de l'immunité qu'elle donne à son commerce, et de la distribution des richesses multiplices que son agriculture fera naître.

Un Génie comme le vôtre, Monsieur, est manifestement fait pour rendre frappantes ces vérités si utiles au genre humain et pour trâter par là le bonheur de l'univers.

Cette lettre et les livres que j'y joins, vous seront remis, Monsieur, par Mr. Reboul Secrétaire perpetuel de la société économique nouvellement formée à Aix par les Etats de Provence. C'est un homme de beaucoup de mérite qui me rend service en vous portent un paquet que j'etais embarrassé pour vous faire remettre, et à qui je rends service en lui procurant votre connaissance dont il sent tout le prix.

Je suis, Monsieur, avec le plus profond
respect, votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur
DU PONT.

480. TO DU PONT DE NEMOURS[1]

London, July 28, 1768.

I RECEIVED your obliging letter of the 10th May, with the most acceptable present of your *Physiocratie*, which I have read with great pleasure, and received from it a great deal of instruction. There is such a freedom from local and national prejudices and partialities, so much benevolence to mankind in general, so much goodness mixt with the wisdom, in the principles of your new philosophy, that I am perfectly charmed with them, and wish I could have stayed in France for some time, to have studied in your school, that I might by conversing with its founders have made myself quite a master of that philosophy. . . . I had, before I went into your country, seen some letters of yours to Dr. Templeman, that gave me a high opinion of the doctrines you are engaged in cultivating and of your personal talents and abilities, which made me greatly desirous of seeing you. Since I had not that good fortune, the next best thing is the advantage you are so good to offer me of your correspondence, which I shall ever highly value, and endeavour to cultivate with all the diligence I am capable of.

I am sorry to find that that wisdom which sees the welfare of the parts in the prosperity of the whole, seems yet not to be known in this country. . . . We are so far from conceiving that what is best for mankind, or even for Europe in general, may be best for us, that we are even studying to establish and extend a separate interest of Britain, to the

[1] Printed from John Bigelow, "The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. IV, p. 194. — ED.

prejudice of even Ireland and our colonies. . . . It is from your philosophy only that the maxims of a contrary and more happy conduct are to be drawn, which I therefore sincerely wish may grow and increase till it becomes the governing philosophy of the human species, as it must be that of superior beings in better worlds. I will take the liberty of sending you a little fragment that has some tincture of it, which, on that account, I hope may be acceptable.

Be so good as to present my sincere respect to that venerable apostle, Dr. Quesnay, and to the illustrious Ami des Hommes[1] (of whose civilities to me at Paris I retain a grateful remembrance), and believe me to be, with real and very great esteem Sir,

Your obliged and most obedient humble servant

B. Franklin

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481. TO JOHN ALLEYNE[2] (A. P. S.)

Craven Street, [August 9, 1768]

Dear Sir

You made an Apology to me for not acquaint[g] me sooner with your Marriage. I ought now to make an Apology to you for delaying so long the Answer to your Letter. It was mislaid or hid among my Papers and much Business put it out of my Mind, or prevented my looking for it and writing when I thought of it. So this Account between us if you

[1] Marquis de Mirabeau (1715–1789), author of "Ami des Hommes, ou traite de la Population" (1756). — Ed.

[2] The rough draft in A. P. S. is undated. The date in brackets above is that given by W. T. F. The introduction to the letter in the draft is very different from that printed by W. T. F. — Ed.

please may stand balanced. I assure you it gave me great Pleasure to hear you were married, and into a Family of Reputation. This I learnt from the Public Papers. The Character you give me of your Bride (as it includes every Qualification that in the married State conduces to mutual Happiness) is an Addition to that Pleasure. Had you consulted me, as a Friend, on the Occasion, Youth on both sides I should not have thought any Objection. Indeed, from the matches that have fallen under my Observation, I am rather inclin'd to think, that early ones stand the best Chance for Happiness. The Tempers and habits of young People are not yet become so stiff and uncomplying, as when more advanced in Life; they form more easily to each other, and hence many Occasions of Disgust are removed. And if Youth has less of that Prudence, that is necessary to conduct a Family, yet the Parents and elder Friends of young married Persons are generally at hand to afford their Advice, which amply supplies that Defect; and, by early Marriage, Youth is sooner form'd to regular and useful Life; and possibly some of those Accidents, Habits or Connections, that might have injured either the Constitution, or the Reputation, or both, are thereby happily prevented.

Particular Circumstances of particular Persons may possibly sometimes make it prudent to delay entering into that State; but in general, when Nature has render'd our Bodies fit for it, the Presumption is in Nature's Favour, that she has not judg'd amiss in making us desire it. Late Marriages are often attended, too, with this further Inconvenience, that there is not the same Chance the parents shall live to see their offspring educated. "*Late Children*," says the Spanish Proverb, "*are early Orphans*." A melan-

choly Reflection to those, whose Case it may be! With us in America, Marriages are generally in the Morning of Life; our Children are therefore educated and settled in the World by Noon; and thus, our Business being done, we have an Afternoon and Evening of chearful Leisure to ourselves; such as your Friend at present enjoys. By these early Marriages we are blest with more Children; and from the Mode among us, founded in Nature, of every Mother suckling and nursing her own Child, more of them are raised. Thence the swift Progress of Population among us, unparallel'd in Europe.

In fine, I am glad you are married, and congratulate you most cordially upon it. You are now more in the way of becoming a useful Citizen; and you have escap'd the unnatural State of Celibacy for Life, the Fate of many here, who never intended it, but who, having too long postpon'd the Change of their Condition, find at length, that 'tis too late to think of it, and so live all their Lives in a Situation that greatly lessens a Man's Value. An odd Volume of a Set of Books you know is not worth its proportion of the Set, and what think you of the Usefulness of an odd Half of a Pair of Scissors? It cannot well cut any thing. It may possibly serve to scrape a Trencher.

Pray make my Compliments and best Wishes acceptable to your Spouse. I am old and heavy and grow a little indolent, or I should ere this have presented them in Person. I shall make but small Use of the old Man's Privilege, that of giving Advice to younger Friends. Treat your Wife always with Respect; it will procure Respect to you, not from her only but from all that observe it. Never use a slighting Expression to her, even in jest, for Slights in Jest,

after frequent bandyings, are apt to end in angry earnest. Be studious in your Profession, and you will be learned. Be industrious and frugal, and you will be rich. Be sober and temperate, and you will be healthy. Be in general virtuous, and you will be happy. At least, you will, by such Conduct, stand the best Chance for such Consequences. I pray God to bless you both; being ever your affectionate Friend, B. Franklin.

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482. TO DAVID HALL (P. H. S.)

London, Augt 9. 1768

Dear Mr Hall.

I receiv'd yours of June 20. &. 22. I have wrote my Mind fully to you in former Letters relating to the Stamp Act; so that I have but little to add, except what you desire to know about the 2/ on Advertisements. It is undoubtedly to be paid every Time the Advertisement is inserted. As to the Paper sent over, I did it for the best, having at that time Expectations given me that we might have had it stampt there; in which case you would have had great Advantage of the other Printers, since if they were not provided with such Paper, they must have either printed but a half sheet common Demi, or paid for two Stamps on each Sheet. The Plan was afterward alter'd notwithstanding all I could do, it being alledged that Scotland & every Colony would expect the same Indulgence if it was granted to us. The Papers must not be sent back again: But I hope you will excuse what I did in Good will, tho' it happen'd wrong — The Molds I still think you should have, as you see that Paper from hence is much dearer than we can make it, — with all Charge of Carriage, but that I hope to get off.

I would not have you by any means drop the Newspaper, as I am sure it will soon recover any present Loss, and may be carried on to advantage, if you steadily proceed as I propos'd in former Letters. I am

Yours affectionately

B. FRANKLIN

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483. TO THE PRINTER OF *The London Chronicle*[1]

August 18, 1768.

QUERIES, *recommended to the Consideration of those Gentlemen who are for vigorous measures with the Americans.*

I. Have the Colonists *refused* to answer any reasonable requisitions made to their *Assemblies* by the mother country?

2. If they have *not refused* to grant reasonable aids in the way, which they think consistent with *liberty*, why must they be stripped of their property without their own *consent*, and in a way, which they think *inconsistent* with liberty?

3. What is it for a people to be *enslaved* and *tributary*, if this be not, viz. to be *forced* to give up their property at the arbitrary pleasure of persons, to whose authority they have not *submitted* themselves, nor *chosen* for the purpose of imposing taxes upon them? Wherein consisted the impropriety of King Charles's demanding ship money by his sole authority, but in its being an exercise of power by the King, which the people had not *given* the King? Have the people of America, as the people of Britain, by sending representatives, *consented* to a power in the British parliament to tax them?

[1] Printed here from Goddard's *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, October 12, 1768. — ED.

4. Has not the British parliament, by repealing the stamp act, acknowledged that they judged it *improper?* Is there any difference between the stamp act, and the act obliging the Americans to pay *whatever we please*, for articles which they *cannot do without*, as glass and paper? Is there any difference as to justice between our treatment of the colonists, and the tyranny of the Carthaginians over their conquered Sardinians, when they obliged them to take all their corn from them, and at whatever price they pleased to set upon it?

5. If that be true, what is commonly said, viz. That the mother country gains *two millions* a year by the colonies, would it not have been wiser to have gone on quietly in the *happy way* we were in, till our gains by those rising and flourishing countries should amount to *three*, *four* or *five* millions a year, than by these new fashioned vigorous measures to kill the goose which lays the golden eggs? Would it not have been better policy, instead of *taxing* our colonists, to have done whatever we could to *enrich* them; and encourage them to take off our articles of *luxury*, on which we may put our own price, and thus draw them into paying us a *voluntary* tax; than deluge them in blood, thin their countries, impoverish and distress them, interrupt their commerce, force them on bankruptcy, by which our merchants must be ruined, or tempt them to emigrations, or alliances with our enemies?

6. The late war could not have been *carried on* without America, nor without Scotland? Have we treated America and Scotland in such a manner as is likely in future wars to encourage their zeal for the common cause? Or is England alone to be the Drawcansir of the world, and to bully not only their enemies, but her *friends?*

7. Are not the subjects of Britain concerned to check a ministry, who, by this rage of heaping taxes on taxes, are only drawing into their own hands more and more wealth and power, while they are hurting the *commercial* interest of the empire in general, at the same time that, amidst profound *peace*, the national debt and burden on the public continue undiminished?

N. M. C. N. P. C. H.

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484. TO THE PRINTER OF *The London Public Advertiser* [1]

August 25, 1768.

Sir,

Threescore years did the oppressed United Provinces maintain a war in defence of their liberties against the then powerful kingdom of *Spain*, with all the wealth of the *Indies* at its command; and finally obliged to acknowledge their independency in a formal treaty, sitting down with the loss of territory, treasure and reputation, and with a broken strength that has never since been recovered.

Contractors, jobbing mercantile members of parliament, officers starving on half pay, and gunsmiths who *toast*, as the papers tell us, *a speedy and a perpetual war*, may wish, rather than no war at all, for a *civil* one in America. These in all conversations, to encourage us in undertaking it, slight the strength of those distant people, think nothing of that enthusiasm for liberty, which in other countries and ages has supplied all deficiencies, and enabled a weak people to

[1] Printed here from Goddard's *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, December 5, 1768. — Ed.

baffle the efforts of a stronger; but tell us that half a dozen regiments are sufficient to reduce in less than a year every province on the continent. — Half a dozen being once engaged in this blessed service, it is easy to write and shew the necessity for more: The more there are the greater the profits to those gentry. And whatever becomes of us poor devils that live by manufactures or by trade, that are to pay taxes, or that have money in the funds, they will amass fortunes, buy our estates, bribe our boroughs, and vote in parliament the rectitude of the measure.

I believe our officers and soldiers as brave as any in the world; and from that very opinion of their bravery I conjecture they would not generally relish the being ordered on this murdering service against their countrymen; to shed English blood, to stifle the British spirit of liberty now rising in the Colonies; that LIBERTY which we should rather wish to see nourished and preserved there, as on a loss of it here (which from our vices is perhaps not far distant) we or our posterity may have occasion to resort to and participate of; and possibly some of the ablest officers may choose, with Sir *Jeffery Amherst*, rather to resign their commissions. But whatever may be the bravery and military powers of our troops, and whatever the zeal with which they would proceed in such a war, there are reasons that make me suspect that it will not be so soon terminated as some folks would have us believe.

My reasons are drawn chiefly from a computation founded on *facts*. It is well known that America is a country full of forests, mountains, &c. That in such a country a small irregular force can give abundance of trouble to a regular one that is much greater: And that, in the last war, *one* of

the *fifteen* Colonies we now have there (and one far short of being the strongest) held out *five years* against *twenty-five thousand* British regular troops; joined by *twenty-five thousand* Colonists on their own pay, and aided by a strong fleet of men of war. What the expence was to this nation, our treasury books and augmented debt may shew. The expence to America, as their pay was higher, could not be much less. The Colony we made war upon was indeed aided by *France*, but during the whole contest not with more than five thousand men. Now supposing that the twenty-five thousand Colonists, that then joined us, should hereafter be against us, and that this makes no difference, and considering that instead of *one* Colony to conquer, we are to have *fifteen*, and that possibly some of our good neighbours may think of making a diversion in their favour, I apprehend it not out of the way to allow *five years* still to a Colony; and this by my computation, will amount to just *seventy five* years. I hope Messieurs the company of gunsmiths will for the present be so good as to be content with a civil war of *seventy-five* years, and perhaps we may scarce be able to afford them a *perpetual* one.

And what are we to gain by this war, by which our trade and manufactures are to be ruined, our strength divided and diminished, our debt increased, and our reputation, as a generous nation, and lovers of liberty, given up and lost? Why, we are to convert millions of the King's loyal subjects into rebels, for the sake of establishing a new claimed power in P—— to tax a distant people, whose abilities and circumstances they cannot be acquainted with, who have a constitutional power of taxing themselves; who have never refused to give us voluntarily more than we can ever expect

to wrest from them by force; and by our trade with whom we gain millions a year!

And is there not *one* wise and good man to be found in *Britain*, who can propose some conciliating measure that may prevent this terrible mischief? — I fear not one. For *Quos Deus vult perdere, dementat prius!*

N. N.

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485. TO GIAMBATISTA BECCARIA [1]

London Sept. 21, 1768.

Reverend Sir:

The bearer of my letter is Monsieur L'Epinasse my good friend who is an ingenious electrician, one of the most excellent that we have.

He intends to visit Turin and being anxious to know you I could not deny him the honour of this note which will serve as an introduction to you and which I hope your goodness will excuse. I had already proposed to write you at length upon the subject of your last letter, but the various affairs in which I am engaged here, take away entirely my attention from philosophical matters, though I have constantly cherished the hope of returning home where I could find leisure to resume the studies that I have shamefully put off from time to time. Nevertheless I can but acknowledge my fault and ask your pardon for it, assuring you that no one has more perfect esteem and respect for your reverence than he who has the honour to be, Reverend Sir,

Your ob. and humble servant

Benj. Franklin.

[1] From "Memorie Istoriche intorno gli studi del Padre Giambatista Beccaria" (Eandi), Torino, 1783, p. 148. Beccaria (1716–1781) was Professor of Physics in the University of Turin. — Ed.

486. TO MR. THOMAS CROWLEY[1]

[From the "Public Advertiser"]

Sir, London, Oct. 21. [1768]

As you have printed here your letter of yesterday to your friend in America, and it may be long before you receive an answer from thence, permit me in the mean time to give you a few remarks on it, submitting them, as you have done your Letter, to the Public.

The disposition you shew to promote peace and harmony between the two countries, is commendable: But if you wish to have any influence with us Americans as a mediator, methinks you should have avoided giving us ground for suspicion that you are prejudiced against us, and that you have imbibed notions of us extremely injurious, and not founded in fact.

You speak of us as a people unreasonable enough to expect protection from Britain, without contributing towards the expence, which is far from being the case. The King has no subjects more willing to grant him aids in proportion to their abilities.

You speak of our "dangerous and vain expectations of becoming independent," and say that "*certainly* there are such among us." Allow me to tell you, that you are *certainly* mistaken, and that there is not a single wish in the colonies to be free from subjection to their amiable sovereign *the King of Great-Britain*, and the constitutional dependence thence arising; and the charging them with such views is a cruel calumny, which you ought not to have countenanced, much less to have asserted it as a *certain* fact.

[1] Printed here from Goddard's *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, February 6, 1769. — Ed.

You bring an account against us of *Eighty Millions*, which you say this nation has run in debt by a war commenced for our protection; and this, joined with your groundless insinuations of our unwillingness to contribute to the exigencies of the crown, seems intended to make us odious, as being both burthensome and ungrateful. We cannot take this well of you, when it is known that that war was commenced, not to defend the colonies (who were in profound peace, and had given no offence to their neighbours, either Indians or French) but to protect the British trade with the Indians which the French had interrupted, and to remove their incroachments on the King's wilderness lands in Acadia. We have never engaged Britain in any war on our account, but have constantly managed our Indian wars ourselves, without asking help from hence, either of men or money. On the other hand, by our connexion with Britain we are unavoidably drawn into all her wars, and always have, as it was our duty, borne our part of them without murmuring. And you might, with more propriety, have charged that expence of *Eighty Millions* to the manufactures of Birmingham, Yorkshire, Manchester, Norwich, &c. or to the British merchants, since the securing a vent for their goods, and the freedom and extention of their trade, was more the motive of the war, than our protection, who asked for none. But you pass them over as Hanover, Portugal, and the East India company, whose protection was expressly intended by Britain, and indeed highly expensive to her; tho' left intirely out of your account, that the odium of the whole may be laid on us. As to the "burning all our maritime towns," which you would intimidate us with, I shall only say, that I wonder how so barbarian a thought came into a peaceable man's head. This brave and generous

nation can never proceed to such excesses against us, merely for vindicating our rights, and endeavouring to secure them by the quiet measures of industry and frugality. However, if our property is not in fact our own, but may be taken from us, at the pleasure of others without our consent, it is no matter how soon it is burnt; it is not worth belonging on such terms.

You further intimate that our using British manufactures gives us no merit with this nation, because we must have used them if our ancestors had not migrated, and we had of course been born here. This is an ingenious argument, which I will not dispute, but only observe, that if Britain is not obliged by our buying her goods, we hope she will not be disobliged by our refusing them; since if we had been both here *we might have worked for ourselves*, and that is only what we are now about to do.

Upon the whole, as we are not presumptuous enough to ask an *union* with Britain, such as England contracted with Scotland, we have no "proposition" to make, but that she would leave us the enjoyment of our native and dear-bought privileges, and not attempt to alter or innovate our constitutions, in the exercise of which everything went prosperously for both countries, till the idea of taxing us by the power of Parliament unfortunately entered the heads of your ministers, which had occasioned a public discussion of questions that had better never been started, and thrown all into confusion.

I am, Sir, with great respect for your good intentions, equally a lover of peace with yourself, and also

Your well wishing friend,

FRANCIS LYNN,

of Boston in New-England.

487. A SCHEME

FOR A

NEW ALPHABET AND REFORMED MODE OF SPELLING;

WITH

REMARKS AND EXAMPLES CONCERNING THE SAME, AND AN ENQUIRY INTO ITS USES, IN A CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MISS STEVENSON AND DR. FRANKLIN, WRITTEN IN THE CHARACTERS OF THE ALPHABET.[1]

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[1] For the nature and intention of this alphabet, I must refer to what Dr. Franklin has himself said upon the subject, in answer to Miss Stevenson's objections; as the reader may understand the whole in an hour or two. It is necessary to add, that the new letters used in the course of printing this paper, are exactly copied from the *manuscript* in my possession; there being no provision for a distinction in the character as *written* or *printed*. I have no other way, therefore, of marking the scored parts of the manuscript (answering to *italics*,) than by placing such passages between inverted commas. As to *capitals*, I should have provided for them by means of larger types, but the form of some of them would have made them too large for the page. However, were the author's general system ever adopted, nothing would be easier than to remedy this particular. — V.

"Copy" from Vaughan's edition for W. T. F.'s edition (5 pp. of print) exists in Stevens' Collection (L. C.). The document is dated by Stevens Sept. 28, "which is obviously too late, as Miss Stevenson used this alphabet in writing to F. Sept. 26." (Fitzpatrick: "List of the B. F. Papers.") — ED.

TABLE OF THE

Characters.	Sounded respectively, as in the words in the column below.
o	Old.
a	John, folly; awl, ball.
a	Man, can.
e	Men, lend, name, lane.
i	Did, sin, deed, seen.
u	Tool, fool, rule.
ų	um, un; as in umbrage, unto, &c., and as in *er*.
h	Hunter, happy, high.
g	Give, gather.
k	Keep, kick.
ſh	(sh) Ship, wish.
ŋ	(ng) ing, repeating, among.
n	End.
r	Art.
t	Teeth.
d	Deed.
l	Ell, tell.
s	Essence.
z	(ez) Wages.
ϑ	(th) Think.
ϑ	(dh) Thy.
f	Effect.
v	Ever.
b	Bees.
p	Peep.
m	Ember.

REFORMED ALPHABET.

Names of Letters as expressed in the reformed Sounds and Characters.	Manner of pronouncing the Sounds.
o	The first VOWEL naturally, and deepest sound ; requires only to open the mouth, and breathe through it.
a	The next requiring the mouth opened a little more, or hollower.
a	The next, a little more.
e	The next requires the *tongue* to be a little more elevated.
i	The next still more.
u	The next requires the *lips* to be gathered up, leaving a small opening.
y	The next a very short vowel, the sound of which we should express in our present letters thus, *uh ;* a short, and not very strong *aspiration.*
huh	A stronger or more forcible aspiration.
gi	The first CONSONANT ; being formed by the *root of the tongue;* this is the present hard *g.*
ki	A kindred sound ; a little more acute ; to be used instead of the hard *c.*
ish	A new letter wanted in our language ; our *sh*, separately taken, not being proper elements of the sound.
ing	A new letter wanted for the same reason : — These are formed *back in the mouth.*
en	Formed *more forward* in the mouth ; the *tip of the tongue* to the *roof* of the mouth.
r	The same ; the tip of the tongue a little loose or separate from the roof of the mouth, and vibrating.
ti	The tip of the tongue more forward ; touching, and then leaving, the roof.
di	The same ; touching a little fuller.
el	The same ; touching just about the *gums* of the *upper teeth.*
es	This sound is formed by the breath passing *between* the moist end of the *tongue* and the *upper teeth.*
ez	The same, a little denser and duller.
eh	The tongue under, and a little *behind*, the upper teeth ; touching them, but so as to let the breath pass between.
eh	The same ; a little fuller.
ef	Formed by the *lower lip* against the upper teeth.
ev	The same ; fuller and duller.
b	The *lips full together*, and *opened* as the air passes out.
pi	The same ; but a thinner sound.
em	The *closing* of the lips, while the *e* [here annexed] is sounding.

REMARKS ON THE ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

o to *huh*	It is endeavoured to give the alphabet a *more natural order;* beginning first with the simple sounds formed by the breath, with none or very little help of tongue, teeth, and lips, and produced chiefly in the windpipe.
g k	Then coming forward to those, formed by the roof of the tongue next to the windpipe.
r n *t d*	Then to those, formed more forward, by the fore part of the tongue against the roof of the mouth.
l *s z*	Then those, formed still more forward, in the mouth, by the tip of the tongue applied first to the roots of the upper teeth.
ɳ *ɳ*	Then to those, formed by the tip of the tongue applied to the ends or edges of the upper teeth.
f *v*	Then to those, formed still more forward, by the under lip applied to the upper teeth.
b *p*	Then to those, formed yet more forward, by the upper and under lip opening to let out the sounding breath.
m	And lastly, ending with the shutting up of the mouth, or closing the lips, while any vowel is sounding.

In this alphabet *c* is *omitted* as unnecessary; *k* supplying its hard sound, and *s* the soft; *k* also supplies well the place of *q*, and, with an *s* added, the place of *x;* *q* and *x* are therefore omitted. The vowel *u*, being sounded as *oo*, makes the *w* unnecessary. The *y*, where used simply, is supplied by *i*, and, where as a diphthong, by two vowels; that letter is therefore omitted as useless. The jod *j* is also omitted, its sound being supplied by the new letter *ɦ*, *ish*, which serves

other purposes, assisting in the formation of other sounds; thus the *ſh* with a *d* before it gives the sound of the jod *j* and soft *g*, as in "James, January, giant, gentle," "*dſheems, dſhanueri, dſhyiant, dſhentel;*" with a *t* before it, it gives the sound of *ch*, as in "cherry, chip," "*tſheri, tſhip;*" and, with *z* before it, the French sound of the jod *j*, as in "jamais," "*zſhame.*"

Thus the *g* has no longer *two different* sounds, which occasioned confusion, but is, as every letter ought to be, confined to one. The same is to be observed in *all* the letters, vowels, and consonants, that wherever they are met with, or in whatever company, their sound is always the same. It is also intended, that there be *no superfluous* letters used in spelling; that is, no letter that is not sounded; and this alphabet, by six new letters, provides, that there be no distinct sounds in the language *without letters* to express them. As to the difference between *short and long vowels*, it is naturally expressed by a single vowel where short, a double one where long; as for "mend," write "mend," but for "remain'd," write "remeen'd;" for "did," write "did," but for "deed," write "diid," &c.

What in our common alphabet is supposed the third vowel, *i*, as we sound it, is as a *diphthong*, consisting of two of our vowels joined; viz. *y* as sounded in "unto," and *i* in its true sound. Any one will be sensible of this, who sounds those two vowels *y i* quick after each other; the sound begins *y* and ends *ii*. The true sound of the *i* is that we now give to *e* in the words "deed, keep —." [1]

[1] The copy, from which this is printed, ends in the same abrupt way with the above, followed by a considerable blank space; so that more perhaps was intended to be added by our author. — V.

EXAMPLES.

So huen sym endfiel, byi divyin kamand,
Uih ryizin tempests fieeks e gilti land,
(Sytfi az av leet or peel Britania past,)
Kalm and siriin hi dryivs hi fiuriys blast;
And, pliiz'd h' almyitis ardyrs tu pyrfarm,
Ryids in hi huyrluind and dyirekts hi starm.

So hi piur limpid striim, huen faul uih steens
av ryfiin tarents and disendin reens,
Uyrks itself kliir; and az it ryns rifyins;
Til byi digriis, hi flotin miryr fiyins,
Riflekts iitfi flaur hat an its bardyr groz,
And e nu hev'n in its feer byzym fioz.

FROM MISS MARY STEVENSON TO B. FRANKLIN.

Kensiŋtyn, 26 *Septembyr*, 1768.

Diir Syr,

yi hav transkryib'd iur alfabet, &c., huitfi yi hink myit bi av syrvis tu hoz, hu uifi to akuyir an akiuret pronynsiefiyn, if hat kuld bi fiks'd; byt yi si meni inkanviiniensis, az uel az difikyltis, hat uuld atend hi briŋiŋ iur letyrs and arhagrafi intu kamyn ius. aal avr etimalodfiiz uuld be last, kansikuentli ui kuld nat asyrteen hi miiniŋ av meni uyrds; hi dis-

[1] Printed by Noah Webster: "Dissertations on the English Language," Boston, 1789, p. 407. — Ed.

tinkfiyn, tu, bituiin uyrds av difyrent miiniŋ and similar saund uuld bi iusles, ynles ui liviŋ ryiters pyblifi nu iidifiyns. In fiart yi biliiv ui myst let piipil spel an in ȝeer old ue, and (az ui fyind it iisiiest) du ȝi seem aurselves. With ease and with sincerity I can, in the old way, subscribe myself,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful and affectionate servant,

M. S.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.[1]

Diir Madam,

ȝi abdfiekfiyn iu meek to rektifyiiŋ aur alfabet, "ȝat it uil bi atended uiȝ inkanviniensiz and difikyltiz," iz e natural uyn; far it aluaz akyrz huen eni refarmefiyn is propozed; hueȝyr in rilidfiyn, gyvernment, laz, and iven daun az lo az rods and huil karidfiiz. ȝi tru kuestfiyn ȝen, is nat hueȝyr ȝaer uil bi no difikyltiz ar inkanviniensiz, byt hueȝyr ȝi difikyltiz mê nat bi syrmaunted; and hueȝyr ȝi kanviniensiz uil nat, an ȝi huol, bi grêtyr ȝan ȝi inkanviniensiz. In ȝis kes, ȝi difikyltiz er onli in ȝi biginiŋ av ȝi praktis; huen ȝê er uyns ovyrkym, ȝi advantedfiez er lastiŋ. — To yīȝyr iu ar mi, hu spel uel in ȝi prezent mod, yi imadfin ȝi difikylti av tfiendfiiŋ ȝat mod far ȝi nu, iz nat so grêt, byt ȝat ui myit pyrfektli git ovyr it in a uiiks ryitiŋ. — Az to ȝoz

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 408. — ED.

hu du nat spel uel, if ȝi tu difikyltiz er kympêrd, viz. ȝat av titfiiŋ ȝem tru speliŋ in ȝi prezent mod, and ȝat av titfiiŋ ȝem ȝi nu alfabet and ȝi nu speliŋ akardiŋ to it, yi am kanfident ȝat ȝi latyr uuld bi byi far ȝi liist. ȝê natyrali fal into ȝi nu meȝyd alreadi, az mytfi az ȝi imperfekfiyn av ȝêr alfabet uil admit av; ȝêr prezent bad speliŋ iz onli bad, bikaz kantreri to ȝi prezent bad ruls; yndyr ȝi nu ruls it uuld bi gud. — ȝi difikylti av lyrniŋ to spel uel in ȝi old uê iz so grêt, ȝat fiu atên it; ȝauzands and ȝauzands ryitiŋ an to old edfi, uiȝaut ever biiŋ ebil to akuyir it. 'T iz, bisyidz, e difikylti kantinuali inkriisiŋ, az ȝi saund graduali veriz mor and mor fram ȝi speliŋ; and to farenyrs it méks ȝi lyrniŋ to pronauns aur lazuedfi, az riten in aur buks, almost impasibil.*

Nau az to "ȝi inkanviniensiz" iu menfiyn. — ȝi fyrst iz, ȝat "aal aur etimalodfiiz uuld bi last, kansikuentli ui kuld nat asyrteen ȝi miiniŋ av meni uyrds." — Etimalodfiiz er at prezent veri ynsyrteen; byt sytfi az ȝê er, ȝi old buks uuld stil prizyrv ȝem, and etimolodfiists uuld ȝêr fyind ȝem. Uyrds in ȝi kors av tyim, tfiendfi ȝer miiniys, az uel az ȝer speliŋ and pronynsiefiyn; and ui du nat luk to etimalodfii far ȝer prezent miiniys. If yi fiuld kal e man e neev and e vilen, hi uuld hardli bi satisfyid uiȝ myi teliŋ him, ȝat uyn av ȝi uyrds oridfiinali signifyid onli e lad ar syrvant; and ȝi yȝyr, an yndyr plauman, ar ȝi inhabitant av e viledfi. It iz fram prezent iusedfi onli, ȝi miiniŋ av uyrds iz to bi dityrmined.

Iur sekynd inkanviniens iz, ȝat "ȝi distinkfiyn biṭuiin uyrds av difyrent miiniŋ and similar saund

* Chinese.

uuld bi distrayid." — ȝat distinkfiyn iz alreadi distrayid in pronaunsiŋ ȝem; and ui rilyi an ȝi sens alon av ȝi sentens to asyrteen, huitfi av ȝi several uyrds, similar in saund, ui intend. If ȝis iz syfifient in ȝi rapiditi av diskors, it uil bi mutfi mor so in riten sentenses, huitfi mê bi red lezfiurli, and atended to mor partikularli in kes av difikylti, ȝan ui kan atend to e past sentens, huyil e spikyr iz hyryiiŋ ys alaŋ uiȝ nu uyns.

Iur ȝyrd inkanviniens iz, ȝat "aal ȝi buks alredi riten uuld bi iusles." — ȝis inkanviniens uuld onli kym an graduali, in e kors av edfies. Iu and yi, and yȝyr nau liviŋ ridyrs, uuld hardli farget ȝi ius av ȝem. Piipil uuld loŋ lyrn to riid ȝi old ryitiŋ, ȝo ȝê praktist ȝi nu. — And ȝi inkanviniens iz nat greter, ȝan huat hes aktuali hapend in a similar kes, in Iteli. Farmerli its inhabitants aal spok and rot Latin; az ȝi laŋuedfi tfiendfid, ȝi speliŋ falo'd it. It iz tru ȝat, at prezent, e miir ynlern'd Italien kanat riid ȝi Latin buks; ȝo ȝê er stil red and yndyrstud byi meni. Byt, if ȝi speliŋ had nevyr bin tfiendfied, hi uuld nau hev faund it mytfi mor difikylt to riid and ryit hiz on laŋuadfi; far riten uyrds uuld hev had no rilêfiyn to saunds, ȝê uuld onli hev stud far hiŋs; so ȝat if hi uuld ekspres in ryitiŋ ȝi yidia hi hez, huen hi saunds ȝi uyrd Vescovo, *hi myst iuz ȝi letterz* Episcopus. *— In fiart, huatever ȝi difikyltiz and inkanviniensiz nau er, ȝê uil bi mor iizili syrmaunted nau, ȝan hiraftyr; and sym tyim ar yȝyr, it myst bi dyn; ar aur ryitiŋ uil bikym ȝi sêm uiȝ ȝi Tfiyiniiz,* az to ȝi difikylti av lyrniŋ and iuziŋ it. And it uuld alredi hev bin sytfi, if ui had*

* Chinese.

kantinud ẏi Saksyn speliŋ and ryitiŋ, iuzed byi our forfaẏhers.

ẏi am, myi diir frind, iurs afekfiŋnetli,

Lyndyn, B. FRANKLIN.[1]

Kreven-striit, Sept. 28, 1768.

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488. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN[2]

My dear Child, London, Oct. 5. 1768

It feels very strange to me to have Ships and Packets come in, and no Letters from you. But I do not complain of it, because I know the reason is, my having written to you that I was coming home. That you may not have the same disagreable Sensation, I write this Line, tho I have written largely by the late Ships, and therefore have little left to say. I have lately been in the Country to spend a few Days at Friends' Houses, and to breathe a little fresh Air. I have made no very long Journey this Summer as usual, finding myself in very good Health, a greater Share of which I believe few enjoy at my time of Life, but we are not to expect it will be always Sunshine. Cousin Folger, who is just arriv'd from Boston, tells me he saw our Son and Daughter Bache at that Place, and that they were going farther, being very well, which I was glad to hear. My love to them and all Friends, from your ever affectionate Husband, B. Franklin.

[1] "This indefatigable gentleman (Dr. Franklin), amidst all his other employments, public and private, has compiled a Dictionary on his Scheme of a Reform, and procured types to be cast for printing it. He thinks himself too old to pursue the plan; but has honored me with the offer of the manuscript and types, and expressed a strong desire that I should undertake the task. Whether this project, so deeply interesting to this country, will ever be effected; or whether it will be defeated by insolence and prejudice, remains for my countrymen to determine." Noah Webster, "Dissertations on the English Language," Boston, 1789. p. 407. — Ed.

[2] From the original in the Library of Cornell University. — Ed.

489. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON[1] (P. C.)

London, Oct. 28, 1768.

Dear Polley,

I did not receive your Letter of the 26th till I came home late last night, too late to answer it by the Return of that Post.

I see very clearly the Unhappiness of your Situation, and that it does not arise from any Fault in you. I pity you most sincerely. I should not, however, have thought of giving you Advice on this Occasion, if you had not requested it, believing, as I do, that your own good Sense is more than sufficient to direct you in every Point of Duty to others and yourself. If, then, I should advise you to any thing, that may be contrary to your own Opinion, do not imagine, that I shall condemn you if you do not follow such Advice. I shall only think, that, from a better Acquaintance with Circumstances, you form a better Judgment of what is fit for you to do.

Now, I conceive with you, that your Aunt, both from her Affection to you, and from the long Habit of having you with her, would really be miserable without you. Her Temper, perhaps, was never of the best; and, when that is the Case, Age seldom mends it. Much of her Unhappiness must arise from thence; and, since wrong Turns of the Mind, when confirm'd by Time, are almost as little in our Power to cure, as those of the Body, I think with you, that her Case is a compassionable one.

If she had, though by her own Imprudence, brought on herself any grievous Sickness, I know you would think it your

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — Ed.

Duty to attend and nurse her with filial Tenderness, even were your own Health to be endangered by it. Your Apprehension, therefore, is right, that it may be your Duty to live with her, tho inconsistent with your Happiness and your Interest; but this can only mean present Interest and present Happiness; for I think your future, greater, and more lasting Interest and Happiness will arise from the Reflection, that you have done your Duty, and from the high Rank you will ever hold in the Esteem of all that know you, for having persevered in doing that Duty under so many and great Discouragements.

My Advice, then, must be, that you return to her as soon as the Time you propos'd for your Visit is expir'd; and that you continue, by every means in your Power, to make the Remainder of her Days as comfortable to her as possible. Invent Amusements for her; be pleas'd when she accepts of them, and patient when she perhaps peevishly rejects them. I know this is hard, but I think you are equal to it; not from any Servility in your Temper, but from abundant Goodness. In the mean time, all your Friends, sensible of your present uncomfortable Situation, should endeavour to ease your Burthen, by acting in Concert with you, and to give her as many Opportunities as possible of enjoying the Pleasures of Society, for your sake.

Nothing is more apt to sour the Temper of aged People, than the Apprehension that they are neglected; and they are extremely apt to entertain such Suspicions. It was therefore that I did propose asking her to be of our late Party; but, your Mother disliking it, the Motion was dropt, as some others have been, by my too great Easiness, contrary to my Judgment. Not but that I was sensible her being with us

might have lessen'd our Pleasure, but I hop'd it might have prevented you some Pain.

In fine, nothing can contribute to true Happiness, that is inconsistent with Duty; nor can a course of Action, conformable to it, be finally without an ample Reward. For God governs; and he is *good*. I pray him to direct you; and, indeed, you will never be without his Direction, if you humbly ask it, and show yourself always ready to obey it. Farewell, *my* dear Friend, and believe me ever sincerely and affectionately *yours*,

B. Franklin.

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490. TO AN UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT [1]

London, November 28, 1768.

Dear Sir,

I received your obliging favour of the 12th instant. Your sentiments of the importance of the present dispute between Great Britain and the colonies appear to me extremely just. There is nothing I wish for more, than to see it amicably and equitably settled.

But Providence will bring about its own ends by its own means; and if it intends the downfall of a nation, that nation will be so blinded by its pride and other passions, as not to see its danger, or how its fall may be prevented.

Being born and bred in one of the countries, and having lived long and made many agreeable connections of friendship in the other, I wish all prosperity to both; but I have talked and written so much and so long on the subject, that

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 288. The name of the person to whom the letter is addressed is not known.— Ed.

my acquaintance are weary of hearing, and the public of reading any more of it, which begins to make me weary of talking and writing; especially as I do not find that I have gained any point, in either country, except that of rendering myself suspected by my impartiality; in England, of being too much an American, and in America, of being too much an Englishman. Your opinion, however, weighs with me, and encourages me to try one effort more, in a full, though concise statement of facts, accompanied with arguments drawn from those facts; to be published about the meeting of Parliament, after the holidays.[1] If any good may be done I shall rejoice; but at present I almost despair.

Have you ever seen the barometer so low as of late? The 22d instant, mine was at 28·41, and yet the weather fine and fair. With sincere esteem, I am, dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. Franklin.

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491. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, Dec. 21, 1768.

My dear Child,

I have now before me your Favours of Oct. 1, 18. 23. 30. and Nov. 5, which I shall answer in order.

I wonder to hear that my Friends were backward in bringing you my Letters when they arrived, and think it must be a mere Imagination of yours, the Effect of some melancholy Humour you happen'd then to be in. I condole with you

[1] It is uncertain to which of the author's publications he here alludes, or whether he executed the design proposed. There may possibly be an error of a year in the date of the letter, and, in such case, the piece may be the one entitled "Causes of the American Discontents before 1768," which was published on the 7th of January of that year. — S.

sincerely on poor Debby's Account, and hope she got well to her Husband with her two Children.

You say in yours of Oct. 18, "For me to give you any Uneasiness about your Affairs here, would be of no Service, and I shall not at this time enter on it." I am made by this to apprehend that something is amiss, and perhaps have more Uneasiness from the Uncertainty, than I should have had if you had told me what it was. I wish therefore you would be explicit in your next. I rejoice that my good old Friend, Mr. Coleman, is got safe home, and continues well. Upon what you write me now about the Watches, I shall, if I can afford it, send you another for yourself. I say if I find I can afford it; for I understand the Ballance of the Post Office Account which I must pay here, is greatly against me, owing to the large Sums you have received. I do not doubt your having applied them properly, and I only mention it, that if I do not send you a Watch, it will not be thro' Neglect or for want of Regard, but because I cannot spare the Cash, for I shall not like to leave Debts behind me here. Mrs. Stevens's Bills since her Marriage have been accepted as before, I should have mention'd it if they had not. Sally Franklin whom you inquire after is here at present under Mrs. Stevenson's care, but I expect her Father to fetch her soon. She presents her Duty.

Remember me respectfully to Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Wharton, Mr. Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. Duffield, Neighbour Thomson, Dr. and Mrs. Redman, Mrs. Hopkinson, Mr. Duché, Dr. Morgan, Mr. Hopkinson, and all the other Friends you have from time to time mention'd as enquiring after me. As you ask me, I can assure you, that I do really intend, God willing, to return in the Summer, and that as soon as possible after

seeing and settling Matters with Mr. Foxcroft, whom I expect in April or May. I am glad that you find so much reason to be satisfy'd with Mr. Bache. I hope all will prove for the best. Capt. Falkener has been arrived at Plymouth some time, but the Winds being contrary could get no farther, so I have not yet received the Apples, Meal, &c., and fear they will be spoilt. I send with this, some of the new kind of Oats much admir'd here to make Oatmeal of, and for other Uses, as being free from Huskes; and some Swiss Barley 6 Rows to an Ear: perhaps our Friends may like to try them, and you may distribute the Seed among them. Give some to Mr. Roberts, Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Thomson, Mr. Bartram, our Son, and others.

I cannot comprehend how so very sluggish a Creature as Ben. Mecom is grown, can maintain in Philadelphia so large a Family. I hope they do not hang upon you: for really as we grow old and must grow more helpless, we shall find we have nothing to spare.

I hope the Cold you complain of in two of your Letters went off without any ill Consequences. We are, as you observe, blest with a great Share of Health considering our Years now 63. For my own part, I think of late that my Constitution rather mends: I have had but one Touch of the Gout, and that a light one, since I left you; It was just after my Arrival here, so that this is the 4th Winter I have been free. Walking a great deal tires me less than it used to do. I feel stronger and more active. Yet I would not have you think that I fancy I shall grow young again. I know that men of my Bulk often fail suddenly: I know that according to the Course of Nature I cannot at most continue much longer, and that the living even of another Day is uncertain. I there-

fore now form no Schemes, but such as are of immediate Execution; indulging myself in no future Prospect except one, that of returning to Philadelphia, there to spend the Evening of Life with my Friends and Family.

Mr. and Mrs. Strahan, & Mr. and Mrs. West, when I last saw them, desired to be kindly remembred to you. Mrs. Stevenson and our Polly send their Love. Mr. Coombe, who seems a very agreable young Man, lodges with us for the present. Adieu, my dear Debby. I am, as ever, your affectionate Husband,

B. Franklin.

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492. TO MICHAEL COLLINSON [1] (A. P. S.)

1768 or '69.
[Date uncertain.]

Dear Sir,

Understanding that it is intended to give the Publick some Account of our dear departed Friend, Mr. Peter Collinson, I cannot omit expressing my Approbation of the Design as the Characters of good Men are exemplary, and often stimulate the well disposed to an Imitation, beneficial to Mankind, and honourable to themselves. And as you may be unacquainted with the following Instances of his Zeal and usefulness in promoting Knowledge, which fell within my observation, I take the Liberty of informing you, that in the Year 1730, a Subscription Library being set on foot in Philadelphia, he encouraged the [design] by making several very valuable Presents to it, and procuring others from his Friends; and,

[1] Peter Collinson died August 11, 1768; Michael Collinson published "Some Account of Peter Collinson," in 1770. This letter was written late in 1768 or at the beginning of 1769. — Ed.

as the Library Company had a considerable Sum arising annually to be laid out in Books, and needed a judicious Friend in London to transact the Business for them, he voluntarily and chearfully undertook that Service, and executed it for more than 30 years successively, assisting in the Choice of the Books, and taking the whole Care of Collecting and Shipping them, without ever charging or accepting any Consideration for his Trouble. The Success of this Library (greatly owing to his kind Countenance and good Advice) encouraged the erecting others in different Places on the same Plan; and it is supposed there are now upwards of 30 subsisting in the several Colonies, which have contributed greatly to the spreading of useful Knowledge in that part of the World; the Books he recommended being all of that kind, and the Catalogue of this first Library being much respected and followed by those Libraries that succeeded.

During the same time he transmitted to the Directors the earliest accounts of every new European Improvement in Agriculture and the Arts, and every philosophical Discovery; among which, in 1745, he sent over an account of the new German Experiments in Electricity, together with a Glass Tube, and some Directions for using it, so as to repeat those Experiments. This was the first Notice I had of that curious Subject, which I afterwards prosecuted with some Diligence, being encouraged by the friendly Reception he gave to the Letters I wrote to him upon it. Please to accept this small Testimony of mine to his Memory, for which I shall ever have the utmost Respect; and believe me, with sincere Esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

B. Franklin.

493. TO LORD KAMES

London, January 1, 1769.

My dear Friend,

It is always a great pleasure to me to hear from you, and would be a much greater to be with you, to converse with you on the subjects you mention, or any other. Possibly I may one day enjoy that pleasure. In the mean time, we may use the privilege, that the knowledge of letters affords us, of conversing at a distance by the pen.

I am glad to find you are turning your thoughts to political subjects, and particularly to those of money, taxes, manufactures, and commerce. The world is yet much in the dark on these important points; and many mischievous mistakes are continually made in the management of them. Most of our acts of Parliament for regulating them are, in my opinion, little better than political blunders, owing to ignorance of the science, or to the designs of crafty men, who mislead the legislature, proposing something under the specious appearance of public good, while the real aim is, to sacrifice that to their own private interest. I hope a good deal of light may be thrown on these subjects by your sagacity and acuteness. I only wish I could first have engaged you in discussing the weighty points in dispute between Britain and the colonies. But the long letter I wrote you for that purpose, in February or March, 1767, perhaps never reached your hand, for I have not yet had a word from you in answer to it.[1]

The act you inquire about had its rise thus. During the

[1] This letter was supposed to have been intercepted and sent to the ministry. A copy of it was afterwards transmitted to Lord Kames. It was dated April 11, 1767. — Ed.

war, Virginia issued great sums of paper money for the payment of their troops, to be sunk in a number of years by taxes. The British merchants trading thither received these bills in payment for their goods, purchasing tobacco with them to send home. The crop of tobacco one or two years falling short, the factors, who were desirous of making a speedy remittance, sought to pay, with the paper money, bills of exchange. The number of bidders for these bills raised the price of them thirty per cent above par. This was deemed so much loss to the purchasers, and supposed to arise from a depreciation of the paper money. The merchants, on this supposition, founded a complaint against that currency to the Board of Trade. Lord Hillsborough, then at the head of that Board, took up the matter strongly, and drew a report, which was presented to the King in Council, against all paper currency in the colonies. And, though there was no complaint against it from any merchants, but those trading to Virginia, all those trading to the other colonies being satisfied with its operation, yet the ministry proposed, and the Parliament came into the making a general act, forbidding all future emissions of paper money, that should be a legal tender in any colony whatever.

The Virginia merchants have since had the mortification to find, that, if they had kept the paper money a year or two, the abovementioned loss would have been avoided; for, as soon as tobacco became more plenty, and of course bills of exchange also, the exchange fell as much as it before had risen. I was in America when the act passed. On my return to England, I got the merchants trading to New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, &c., to meet, to consider and join in an application to have the restraining act repealed. To prevent

this application, a copy was put into the merchants' hands of Lord Hillsborough's report, by which it was supposed they might be convinced, that such an application would be wrong. They desired my sentiments on it, which I gave in the paper I send you enclosed. I have no copy by me of the report itself; but in my answer you will see a faithful abridgment of all the arguments or reasons it contained. Lord Hillsborough has read my answer, but says he is not convinced by it, and adheres to his former opinion. We know nothing can be done in Parliament, that the minister is absolutely against, and therefore we let that point rest for the present. And, as I think a scarcity of money will work with our other present motives for lessening our fond extravagance in the use of the superfluous manufactures of this country, which unkindly grudges us the enjoyment of common rights, and will tend to lead us naturally into industry and frugality, I am grown more indifferent about the repeal of the act, and, if my countrymen will be advised by me, we shall never ask it again.

There is not, as I conceive, any new principle wanting, to account for the operations of air, and all the affections of smoke in rooms and chimneys; but it is difficult to advise in particular cases at a distance, where one cannot have all the circumstances under view. If two rooms and chimneys are "perfectly similar" in situation, dimension, and all other circumstances, it seems not possible, that, "in summer, when no fire had been in either of them for some months, and in a calm day, a current of air should at the same time go up the chimney of the one, and down the chimney of the other." But such difference may and often does take place, from circumstances in which they are dissimilar, and which dissimilarity is not very obvious to those who have little studied

the subject. As to your particular case, which you describe to be, that, "after a whole day's fire, which must greatly heat the vent, yet, when the fire becomes low, so as not to emit any smoke, neighbour smoke immediately begins to descend and fill the room;" this, if not owing to particular winds, may be occasioned by a stronger fire in another room, communicating with yours by a door, the outer air being excluded by the outward door's being shut, whereby the stronger fire finds it easier to be supplied with air down through the vent, in which the weak fire is, and thence through the communicating door, than through the crevices. If this is the circumstance, you will find that a supply of air is only wanting, that may be sufficient for both vents. If this is not the circumstance, send me, if you please, a complete description of your room, its situation, and connexion, and possibly I may form a better judgment. Though I imagine your Professor of Natural Philosophy, Mr. Russel, or Mr. George Clark, may give you as good advice on the subject as I can. But I shall take the liberty of sending you, by the first convenient opportunity, a collection of my philosophical papers lately published, in which you will find something more relating to the motions of air in chimneys.[1]

To commence a conversation with you on your new project, I have thrown some of my present sentiments into the concise form of aphorisms, to be examined between us, if you please, and rejected or corrected and confirmed, as we shall find most proper. I send them enclosed.[2]

[1] The fourth edition of "Experiments and Observations on Electricity" was published in London, in 1769.

[2] These were probably "*Positions to be examined concerning National Wealth.*"

In his reply to the above letter, Lord Kames said, "The letter you men-

With thanks for your good wishes, and with unalterable esteem, I remain, my dear friend, affectionately yours,

B. Franklin.

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494. TO JOHN BARTRAM[1]

London, January 9, 1769.

My dear old Friend,

I received your kind letter of November 5th, and the box directed to the King is since come to hand. I have written a line to our late dear friend's son,[2] (who must be best acquainted with the usual manner of transacting your affairs here,) to know whether he will take charge of the delivery of it; if not, to request he would inform me how or to whom it is to be sent for the King. I expect his answer in a day or two, and I shall, when I see him, inquire how your pension is hereafter to be applied for and received, though I suppose he has written to you before this time.

I hope your health continues, as mine does hitherto; but I wish you would now decline your long and dangerous peregrinations in search of new plants, and remain safe and quiet at home, employing your leisure hours in a work that is much wanted, and which no one besides is so capable of performing; I mean the writing a Natural History of our country. I imagine it would prove profitable to you, and I am

tion, about American affairs, never came to hand. I have an essay on the subject of your Queries, and you shall hear from me soon about our agreeing or differing. I have a great fund of political knowledge reduced into writing, far from being ripe, but fit for your perusal. If you will come to my aid, I know not but that we shall make a very good thing of it. If not, it may be lost to the world, and what a loss will that be!" — *Edinburgh, January* 21, 1769.

[1] First published by Sparks. [2] Michael, son of Peter Collinson. — Ed.

sure it would do you honour. My respects and best wishes attend Mrs. Bartram and your family. With sincere esteem I am, as ever, your affectionate friend,

B. Franklin.

P. S. *January 28th.* The box is delivered, according to Mr. Michael Collinson's directions, at Lord Bute's. I have sent over some seed of naked oats and some of Swiss barley, six rows to one ear. If you would choose to try some of it, call on Mrs. Franklin.

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495. TO JEAN BAPTISTE LE ROY[1] (A. P. S.)

London, January 31, 1769.

Dear Sir,

I received your obliging favour of November 15th. I presented your compliments to Sir John Pringle, who was glad with me to hear of your welfare, and desired me to offer his best respects whenever I wrote to you. The *Farmer's Letters* were written by one Mr. Dickinson, of Philadelphia, and not by me, as you seem to suppose. I only caused them to be reprinted here with that little Preface, and had no other hand in them, except that I see some of my sentiments formerly published are collected, and interwoven with those of others and his own, by the author. I am glad they afforded you any amusement. It is true, as you have heard, that troops are posted in Boston, on the pretence of preventing riots and protecting the custom-house officers; but it is also

[1] Jean Baptiste Le Roy (1724–1800), physicist, became a member of the Académie des Sciences, 1751; of the Royal Society, 1773; and of The American Philosophical Society, January 15, 1773. — Ed.

true, that there was no intention among the people there, to oppose the landing of those troops, or to resist the execution of the law by arms. The riots talked of were sudden, unpremeditated things, that happened only among a few of the lower sort. Their plan of making war on this country is of a different kind. It is to be a war on commerce only, and consists in an absolute determination to buy and use no more of the manufactures of Britain, till the act is repealed. This is already agreed to by four provinces, and will be by all the rest in the ensuing summer. Eleven ships now here from Boston and New York, which would have carried, one with another, fifty thousand pounds sterling each in goods, are going away in their ballast, as the Parliament seems determined not to repeal. I am inclined to think, however, that it will alter its mind before the end of the session. Otherwise it is to be feared the breach will grow wider by successive indiscretions on both sides.

The subject you propose to me, the consequences of allowing a free exportation of corn, the advantages or disadvantages of the *Concurrence*, &c., is a very extensive one; and I have been, and am at present, so much occupied with our American affairs, as that, if I were ever so capable of handling it, I have not time to engage in it at present to any purpose. I think, however, with you, that the true principles of commerce are yet but little understood, and that most of the acts of Parliament, *arrêts* and edicts of princes and states, relating to commerce, are political errors, solicited and obtained by particulars for private interest, under the pretext of public good.

The bearer of this, Captain Ourry, is a particular friend of mine, who now only passes through Paris for Lyons and Nice,

but in his return may stay in your city some time. He is a gentleman of excellent character and great merit, and as such I beg leave to recommend him to your civilities and advice, which may be of great service to him, as he is quite a stranger in Paris. With the greatest esteem and respect, I am, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

B. Franklin.

P. S. Your English is extremely good; but, if it is more easy for you to write in French, do not give yourself the trouble of writing in English, as I understand your French perfectly well.

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496. TO LORD KAMES[1]

London, February 21, 1769.

My dear Friend,

I received your excellent paper on the preferable use of oxen in agriculture, and have put it in the way of being communicated to the public here. I have observed in America, that the farmers are more thriving in those parts of the country where cattle are used, than in those where the labour is done by horses. The latter are said to require twice the quantity of land to maintain them; and after all are not good to eat, at least we do not think them so. Here is a waste of land that might afford subsistence for so many of the human species. Perhaps it was for this reason, that the Hebrew lawgiver, having promised that the children of Israel should be as numerous as the sands of the sea, not only took care to secure the health of individuals by regulating their diet,

[1] From "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Henry Home of Kames," Vol. II, p. 84. — Ed.

that they might be fitter for producing children, but also forbid their using horses, as those animals would lessen the quantity of subsistence for men. Thus we find, when they took any horses from their enemies, they destroyed them; and in the commandments, where the labour of the ox and ass is mentioned, and forbidden on the Sabbath, there is no mention of the horse, probably because they were to have none. And, by the great armies suddenly raised in that small territory they inhabited, it appears to have been very full of people.

Food is *always* necessary to *all;* and much the greatest part of the labour of mankind is employed in raising provisions for the mouth. Is not this kind of labour, then, the fittest to be the standard by which to measure the values of all other labour, and consequently of all other things whose value depends on the labour of making or procuring them? May not even gold and silver be thus valued? If the labour of the farmer, in producing a bushel of wheat, be equal to the labour of the miner in producing an ounce of silver, will not the bushel of wheat just measure the value of the ounce of silver. The miner must eat; the farmer indeed can live without the ounce of silver, and so perhaps will have some advantage in settling the price. But these discussions I leave to you, as being more able to manage them; only, I will send you a little scrap I wrote some time since on the laws prohibiting foreign commodities.

I congratulate you on your election as president of your Edinburgh Society. I think I formerly took notice to you in conversation, that I thought there had been some similarity in our fortunes, and the circumstances of our lives. This is a fresh instance, for, by letters just received, I find that I

was about the same time chosen president of our American Philosophical Society, established at Philadelphia.

I have sent by sea, to the care of Mr. Alexander, a little box, containing a few copies of the late edition of my books, for my friends in Scotland. One is directed for you, and one for your Society, which I beg that you and they would accept as a small mark of my respect. With the sincerest esteem and regard, I am, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I am sorry my letter of 1767, concerning the American disputes, miscarried. I now send you a copy of it from my book. The Examination mentioned in it you have probably seen. Things daily wear a worse aspect, and tend more and more to a breach and final separation.

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497. TO SAMUEL COOPER (B. M.)

London, Feb. 24, 1769.

DEAR SIR,

I received your Favour by Mr. Jefferies. I should have been glad if in any thing I could have served him here. The Part I took in the Application for your Degree [1] was merely doing justice to Merit, which is the Duty of an honest Man whenever he has the Opportunity. I did that Duty, indeed, with Pleasure and Satisfaction to myself, which was sufficient; but I own the Pleasure is greatly increased by finding, that you are so good as to accept my Endeavours kindly.

I was about to return home last Summer, and had some

[1] Degree of Doctor in Divinity, conferred by the University of Edinburgh. See letter to Richard Price, August 1, 1767. — ED.

Thoughts of doing it by way of Boston; but the untoward Situation of American Affairs here induc'd my Friends to advise my staying another Winter. I should have been happy in doing any Service to our Country. The Tide is yet strong against us, and our Endeavours to turn it have hitherto had but little Effect. But it must turn, if your frugal and industrious Resolutions continue. Your old Governor, Mr. Pownall, appears a warm and zealous Friend to the Colonies in Parliament, but unfortunately he is very ill-heard at present. I have been in constant Pain since I heard of Troops assembling at Boston, lest the Madness of Mobs, or the Insolence of Soldiers, or both, should, when too near each other, occasion some Mischief difficult to be prevented or repaired, and which might spread far and wide. I hope, however, that Prudence will predominate, and keep all quiet.

A great cause between the City of London and the Dissenters was decided here the Year before last in the House of Lords. No Account of it has been printed; but, one having been taken in writing, I obtained a Copy of it, which I send you, supposing it may afford you and your Friends some Pleasure.

Please to present my respectful Compliments to Mrs. Cooper, and to Mr. Bowdoin, when you see him. With sincere and great esteem, I am, Rev'd dear Sir

Your affectionate & most obedient humble servant

B. Franklin.

498. TO JOHN WINTHROP (A. P. S.)

London, March 11, 1769.

Dear Sir,

At length after much Delay and Difficulty I have been able to obtain your Telescope, that was made by Mr. Short before his Death. His brother who succeeds in the Business has fitted it up and compleated it. He has followed the Business many Years at Edinburgh, is reckon'd very able, and therefore I hope every thing will be found right; but, as it is only just finish'd, I have no time left to get any philosophical or astronomical Friends to examine it, as I intended, the Ship being on the Point of sailing, and a future Opportunity uncertain. Enclos'd is his Direction-Paper for opening and fixing it.

I have not yet got the Bill of the Price. It is to be made from the deceased Mr. Short's[1] Book of Memorandums of Orders, in which he enter'd this Order of ours and as it is suppos'd, the Price. I do not remember, it is so long since, whether it was £100, or 100 Guineas; and the Book is in the Hands of the Executors as I understand. When I have the Account, I shall pay it as I did Bird's for the Transit Instrument, which was 40 Guineas, and then shall apply for the whole to Mr. Mauduit.[2] By the way, I wonder that I have not heard from you of the Receipt of that Instrument, which went from hence in September by Captain Watt. I hope it got safe to hand and gave Satisfaction. The Ship was the

[1] James Short, optician, died June 14, 1768. — Ed.

[2] Israel Mauduit (1708–1787) was agent in England for the Province of Massachusetts Bay. — Ed.

same that Mr. Rogers went in, who I hear is arriv'd; and by him too I sent the Philosophical Transactions, with a Number of Copies of your Paper as printed separately. But I have no Letter from you since that by the young Gentleman you recommended to me, Grandson to Sir Wm Pepperell, which I think was dated about the Beginning of October, when you could not have receiv'd them.

By a late Ship, I sent your College[1] a Copy of the new Edition of my Philosophical Papers; and others, I think, for yourself and for Mr. Bowdoin. I should apologize to you for inserting therein some part of our Correspondence without first obtaining your Permission; but, as Mr. Bowdoin had favoured me with his Consent for what related to him, I ventur'd to rely upon your Good-Nature, as to what related to you, and I hope you will forgive me.

I have got from Mr. Ellicot the Glasses, &c. of the long Galilean Telescope, which he presents to your College. I put them into the Hands of Mr. Nairne, the Optician, to examine and put them in Order. I thought to have sent them by this Ship, but am disappointed. They shall go by the next, if possible.

There is nothing new here in the philosophical Way at present.

With great and sincere Esteem, I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

B. Franklin.

P. S. There is no Prospect of getting the Duty acts repeal'd this Session, if ever. Your steady Resolutions to consume no more British Goods may possibly, if persisted

[1] Harvard College. — Ed.

in have a good Effect another Year. I apprehend the Parliamentary Resolves and Address will tend to widen the Breach. Inclos'd I send you Govr Pownall's Speech against those Resolves; his name is not to be mention'd. He appears to me a hearty Friend to America, tho' I find he is suspected by some on account of his Connections.

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499. POSITIONS TO BE EXAMINED, CONCERNING NATIONAL WEALTH.

DATED APRIL 4, 1769.

1. ALL food or subsistence for mankind arises from the earth or waters.

2. Necessaries of life, that are not food, and all other conveniences, have their values estimated by the proportion of food consumed while we are employed in procuring them.

3. A small people, with a large territory, may subsist on the productions of nature, with no other labour than that of gathering the vegetables and catching the animals.

4. A large people, with a small territory, finds these insufficient, and, to subsist, must labour the earth, to make it produce greater quantities of vegetable food, suitable for the nourishment of men, and of the animals they intend to eat.

5. From this labour arises a *great increase* of vegetable and animal food, and of materials for clothing, as flax, wool, silk, &c. The superfluity of these is wealth. With this wealth we pay for the labour employed in building our houses, cities, &c., which are therefore only subsistence thus metamorphosed.

6. *Manufactures* are only *another shape* into which so much provisions and subsistence are turned, as were equal in value to the manufactures produced. This appears from hence, that the manufacturer does not, in fact, obtain from the employer, for his labour, *more* than a mere subsistence, including raiment, fuel, and shelter; all which derive their value from the provisions consumed in procuring them.

7. The produce of the earth, thus converted into manufactures, may be more easily carried to distant markets than before such conversion.

8. *Fair commerce* is, where equal values are exchanged for equal, the expense of transport included. Thus, if it costs A in England as much labour and charge to raise a bushel of wheat, as it costs B in France to produce four gallons of wine, then are four gallons of wine the fair exchange for a bushel of wheat, A and B meeting at half distance with their commodities to make the exchange. The advantage of this fair commerce is, that each party increases the number of his enjoyments, having, instead of wheat alone, or wine alone, the use of both wheat and wine.

9. Where the labour and expense of producing both commodities are known to both parties, bargains will generally be fair and equal. Where they are known to one party only, bargains will often be unequal, knowledge taking its advantage of ignorance.

10. Thus, he that carries one thousand bushels of wheat abroad to sell, may not probably obtain so great a profit thereon, as if he had first turned the wheat into manufactures, by subsisting therewith the workmen while producing those manufactures; since there are many expediting and facilitating methods of working, not generally known; and strangers

to the manufactures, though they know pretty well the expense of raising wheat, are unacquainted with those short methods of working, and, thence being apt to suppose more labour employed in the manufactures than there really is, are more easily imposed on in their value, and induced to allow more for them than they are honestly worth.

11. Thus the advantage of having manufactures in a country does not consist, as is commonly supposed, in their highly advancing the value of rough materials, of which they are formed; since, though six pennyworth of flax may be worth twenty shillings, when worked into lace, yet the very cause of its being worth twenty shillings is, that, besides the flax, it has cost nineteen shillings and sixpence in subsistence to the manufacturer. But the advantage of manufactures is, that under their shape provisions may be more easily carried to a foreign market; and, by their means, our traders may more easily cheat strangers. Few, where it is not made, are judges of the value of lace. The importer may demand forty, and perhaps get thirty, shillings for that which cost him but twenty.

12. Finally, there seem to be but three ways for a nation to acquire wealth. The first is by *war*, as the Romans did, in plundering their conquered neighbours. This is *robbery*. The second by *commerce*, which is generally *cheating*. The third by *agriculture*, the only *honest way*, wherein man receives a real increase of the seed thrown into the ground, in a kind of continual miracle, wrought by the hand of God in his favour, as a reward for his innocent life and his virtuous industry.

500. TO SAMUEL COOPER (B. M.)

London, April 27, 1769.

Dear Sir,

I received your Favour of Feby 27th, by Captain Carver, and thank you for giving me an Opportunity of being acquainted with so great a Traveller. I shall be glad if I can render him any service here.[1]

The Parliament remain fix'd in their Resolution not to repeal the Duty Acts this Session, and will rise next Tuesday. I hope my Country folks will remain as fix'd in their Resolutions of Industry and Frugality till these Acts are repeal'd. And, if I could be sure of that, I should almost wish them never to be repealed; being persuaded, that we shall reap more solid and extensive Advantages from the steady Practice of those two great Virtues, than we can possibly suffer Damage from all the Duties the Parliament of this kingdom can levy on us. They flatter themselves you cannot long subsist without their Manufactures. They believe you have not Virtue enough to persist in such Agreements, — they imagine the Colonies will differ among themselves, deceive and desert one another, and quietly one after the other submit to the Yoke, and return to the Use of British Fineries. They think, that, tho' the Men may be contented with homespun stuffs, the Women will never get the better of their

[1] Captain Jonathan Carver, celebrated for his travels in the interior parts of North America, was born in Connecticut, in the year 1732. He served on the frontiers in the French war, with the reputation of a good officer, till the peace of 1763, after which he travelled near the sources of the Mississippi, and on the borders of Lake Superior. He carried his manuscript journal to England, where he met with many embarrassments, and it was not published till 1778. He died in London, in 1780, neglected and in want. — S.

Vanity and Fondness for English Modes and Gewgaws. The ministerial People all talk in this Strain, and many even of the Merchants. I have ventured to assert, that they will all find themselves mistaken; and I rely so much on the Spirit of my Country, as to be confident I shall not be found a false Prophet, tho' at present not believed.

I hope nothing that has happened, or may happen, will diminish in the least our Loyalty to our Sovereign, or Affection for this Nation in general. I can scarcely conceive a King of better Dispositions, of more exemplary Virtues, or more truly desirous of promoting the Welfare of all his Subjects. The Experience we have had of the Family in the two preceding mild Reigns, and the good Temper of our young Princes, so far as can yet be discovered, promise us a Continuance of this Felicity. The Body of this People, too, is of a noble and generous Nature, loving and honouring the Spirit of Liberty, and hating arbitrary Power of all sorts. We have many, very many, friends among them.

But as to the Parliament! tho' I might excuse that which made the Acts, as being surpriz'd & misled into the Measure; I know not how to excuse this, which, under the fullest Conviction of its being a wrong one, resolves to continue it. It is decent, indeed, in your publick Papers to speak as you do of the "*Wisdom and the Justice of Parliament;*" but now that the Subject is more thoroughly understood, if this new Parliament had been really *wise*, it would not have refused even to *receive* a Petition against the Acts; and, if it had been *just*, it would have repealed them, and refunded the Money. Perhaps it may be *wiser* and *juster* another Year, but that is not to be depended on.

If under all the Insults and Oppressions you are now ex-

posed to, you can prudently, as you have lately done, continue quiet, avoiding Tumults, but still resolutely keeping up your Claim and asserting your Rights, you will finally establish them, and this military Cloud that now blusters over you will pass away, and do no more Harm than a Summer Thunder Shower. But the Advantages of your Perseverance in Industry and Frugality will be great and permanent. Your Debts will be paid, your Farms will be better improv'd, and yield a greater Produce; your real Wealth will increase in a Plenty of every useful home Production, and all the true Enjoyments of Life, even tho' no foreign Trade should be allow'd you; and this handicraft, shop-keeping State, will, for its own sake, learn to behave more civilly to its Customers.

Your late governor, Mr. Pownall, appears a hearty Friend to America. He moved last week for a Repeal of the acts, and was seconded by General Conway, Sir George Saville, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Trecothic, and others, but did not succeed. A Friend has favoured me with a Copy of the Notes taken of Mr. Pownall's Speech, which I send you, believing it will be agreable to you and some other of our Friends to see them. You will observe in some Parts of it the Language a Member of Parliament is obliged to hold, on American topicks, if he would at all be heard in the House. He has given Notice that he will renew the Motion next and every Session. All Ireland is strongly in favour of the American cause. They have reason to sympathize with us. I send you four Pamphlets written in Ireland, or by Irish gentlemen here, in which you will find some excellent well-said Things. With the greatest Esteem, I am, my dear Friend,

Yours most affectionately

B. Franklin.

501. TO MRS. JANE MECOM[1]

London, April 27, 1769.

— Mrs. Stevenson has executed your order, and sends the things in a bandbox directed to you. A new-fashioned something, that was not ready when the box was packed up, is enclosed in her letter.

I am now grown too old to be ambitious of such a station, as that which you say has been mentioned to you.[2] Repose is more fit for me, and much more suitable to my wishes. There is no danger of such a thing being offered to me, and I am sure I shall never ask it. But even if it were offered, I certainly could not accept it, to act under such instructions, as I know must be given with it. So you may be quite easy on that head.

The account you write of the growing industry, frugality, and good sense of my countrywomen, gives me more pleasure than you can imagine; for from thence I presage great advantages to our country. I should be sorry, that you are engaged in a business, which happens not to coincide with the general interest, if you did not acquaint me that you are now near the end of it. B. Franklin.

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502. TO THE PRINTER OF *The London Chronicle*

May 9, 1769.

Mr. Chronicle:

Sir: — While the public attention is so much turned towards America, every letter from thence that promises new

[1] First published by Sparks. [2] Governor of Pennsylvania. — Ed.

information, is pretty generally read. It seems, therefore, the more necessary that care should be taken to disabuse the public, when those letters contain facts false in themselves, and representations injurious to bodies of people, or even to private persons.

In your paper, No. 310, I found an extract of a letter, said to be from a gentleman in General Abercrombie's army. As there are several strokes in it tending to render the colonies despicable, and even odious, to the mother country, which may have ill consequences, and no notice having been taken of the injuries contained in that letter, other letters of the same nature have since been published, permit me to make a few observations on it.

The writer says: "New England was settled by Presbyterians and Independents, who took shelter there from the persecutions of Archbishop Laud; they still retain their original character; they generally hate the Church of England," says he. It is very true that if some resentment still remained for the hardships their fathers suffered, it might perhaps be not much wondered at; but the fact is, that the moderation of the present Church of England towards dissenters in Old as well as New England, had quite effaced those impressions; the dissenters, too, are become less rigid and scrupulous, and the good-will between those different bodies in that country is now both mutual and equal.

He goes on: "They came out with a levelling spirit, and they retain it. They cannot bear to think that one man should be exorbitantly rich, and another poor; so that, except in the seaport towns, there are few great estates among them. This equality produces also a rusticity of manners; for their language, dress, and in all their behaviour, they are

more boorish than anything you ever saw in a certain northern latitude." One would imagine, from this account, that those who were growing poor plundered those who were growing rich, to preserve this equality, and that property had no protection; whereas, in fact, it is nowhere more secure than in the New England colonies; the law is nowhere better executed, or justice obtained at less expense. The equality he speaks of arises first from a more equal distribution of lands by the assemblies in the first settlement than has been practiced in other colonies, where favourites of governors have obtained enormous tracts for trifling considerations, to the prejudice both of the crown revenues and the public good; and secondly, from the nature of their occupation; husbandmen with small tracts of land, though they may by industry maintain themselves and families in mediocrity, having few means of acquiring great wealth, especially in a young colony that is to be supplied with its clothing and many other expensive articles of consumption from the mother country. Their dress the gentleman may be a more critical judge of than I pretend to be; all I know of it is, that they wear the manufacture of Britain, and follow its fashions perhaps too closely, every remarkable change in the mode making its appearance there within a few months after its invention here; a natural effect of their constant intercourse with England, by ships arriving almost every week from the capital, their respect for the mother country, and admiration of every thing that is British. But as to their language, I must beg this gentleman's pardon, if I differ from him. His ear, accustomed perhaps to the dialect practiced in the certain northern latitude he mentions, may not be qualified to judge so nicely what relates to pure English. And I appeal to all English-

men here, who have been acquainted with the Colonists, whether it is not a common remark, that they speak the language with such an exactness both of expression and accent, that though you may know the natives of several of the counties of England, by peculiarities in their dialect, you cannot by that means distinguish a North American. All the new books and pamphlets worth reading, that are published here, in a few weeks are transmitted and found there, where there is not a man or woman born in the country but what can read; and it must, I think, be a pleasing reflection to those who write either for the benefit of the present age or of posterity, to find their audience increasing with the increase of our colonies, and their language extending itself beyond the narrow bounds of these islands, to a continent larger than all Europe, and to future empire as fully peopled, which Britain may one day probably possess in those vast western regions.

But the gentleman makes more injurious comparisons than these:

"That latitude," he says, "has this advantage over them, that it has produced sharp, acute men, fit for war or learning, whereas the others are remarkably simple, or silly, and blunder eternally. We have six thousand of their militia, which the general would willingly exchange for two thousand regulars. They are forever marring some one or other of our plans, when sent to execute them. They can, indeed, some of them at least, range in the woods; but three hundred Indians with their yell throw three thousand of them in panic, and then they will leave nothing for the enemy to do, for they will shoot one another; and in the woods our regulars are afraid to be on a command with them on that very account."

I doubt, Mr. Chronicle, that this paragraph, when it comes to be read in America will have no good effect; and rather increase that inconvenient disgust which is too apt to arise between the troops of different corps, or countries, who are obliged to serve together. Will not a New England officer be apt to retort and say, what foundation have you for this odious distinction in favour of the officers from your certain northern latitude? They may, as you say, be fit for learning; but, surely, that return of your first general, with a well appointed and sufficient force, from his expedition against Louisbourg, without so much as seeing the place, is not the most shining proof of his talents for war. And no one will say his plan was marred by us, for we were not with him. Was his successor who conducted the blundering attack, and inglorious retreat from Ticonderoga, a New England man, or one of that certain latitude? Then as to the comparison between regulars and provincials, will not the latter remark that it was two thousand New England provincials, with about one hundred and fifty regulars that took the strong fort of Beaudejour in the beginning of the war; though in the accounts transmitted to the English gazette, the honour was claimed by the regulars, and little or no notice taken of the others. That it was the provincials who beat General Dieskau with his regulars, Canadians, and "yelling Indians," and sent him prisoner to England. That it was a provincial-born officer, with American batteaux-men, that beat the French and Indians on Oswego River. That it was the same officer, with provincials, who made that long and admirable march into the enemy's country, took and destroyed Fort Frontenac, with the whole French fleet on the lakes, and struck terror into the heart of Canada. That it was a

provincial officer, with provincials only, who made another extraordinary march into the enemy's country, surprised and destroyed the Indian town of Kittanning, bringing off the scalps of their chiefs. That one ranging captain of a few provincials, Rogers, has harassed the enemy more on the frontiers of Canada, and destroyed more of their men, than the whole army of regulars. That it was the regulars who surrendered themselves, with the provincials under their command, prisoners of war, almost as soon as they were besieged, with the forts, fleets, and all the provisions and stores that had been provided and amassed to so immense expense at Oswego. That it was the regulars who surrendered Fort William Henry, and suffered themselves to be butchered and scalped with arms in their hands. That it was the regulars under Braddock, who were thrown into a panic by the "yells of three or four hundred Indians," in their confusion shot one another, and, with five times the force of the enemy, fled before them, destroying all their own stores, ammunition and provisions. These regular gentlemen, will the provincial rangers add, may possibly be afraid, as they say they are, to be on a command with us in the woods, but when it is considered that, from all past experience, the chance of our shooting them is not as one to a hundred, compared with that of their being shot by the enemy, may it not be suspected, that what they give as the *very account* of their fear and unwillingness to venture out with us, is only the *very excuse;* and that a concern for their scalps weighs more with them than a regard for their honour.

Such as these, sir, I imagine may be the reflections extorted by such provocation from the provincials in general. But the New England men in particular will have reason to re-

sent the remark on their reduction of Louisbourg. Your writer proceeds: "Indeed they are all very ready to make their boast of taking Louisbourg, in 1745; but if people were to be acquitted or condemned according to the propriety and wisdom of their plans and not according to their success, the persons that undertook the siege merited little praise; for I have heard officers who assisted at it say, never was anything more rash; for had one single part of their plan failed, or had the French made the fortieth part of the resistance then that they have made now, every soul of the New Englanders must have fallen in the trenches. The garrison was weak, sickly, and destitute of provisions, and disgusted, and therefore became a ready prey; and, when they returned to France, were decimated for their gallant defence." Where then is the glory arising from thence? After denying his facts: "that the garrison was weak, wanted provisions, made not a fortieth part of the resistance, were decimated," &c., the New England men will ask this regular gentleman, if the place was well fortified, and had (as it really had) a numerous garrison, was it not at least brave to attack it with a handful of raw, undisciplined militia? If the garrison was, as you say, "sickly, disgusted, destitute of provisions, and ready to become a prey," was it not prudent to seize the opportunity, and put the nation in possession of so important a fortress, at so small an expense? So that if you will not allow the enterprise to be, as we think it was, both brave and prudent, ought you not at least to grant it was either one or the other? But is there no merit on this score in the people, who, though at first so greatly divided, as to the making or forbearing the attempt, that it was carried in the affirmative by the small majority of one vote only; yet

when it was once resolved on, unanimously prosecuted the design, and prepared the means with the greatest zeal and diligence; so that the whole equipment was completely ready before the season would permit the execution? Is there no merit or praise in laying and executing their plan so well, that, as you have confessed, not a single part of it failed? If the plan was destitute of "propriety and wisdom," would it not have required the sharp, acute men of the northern latitude to execute it, that by supplying its deficiencies they might give it some chance of success? But if such "remarkably silly, simple, blundering mar plans," as you say we are, could execute *this plan*, so that not a *single part* of it failed, does it not at least show that the plan itself must be laid with *some* "wisdom and propriety"? Is there no merit in the ardour with which all degrees and ranks of people quitted their private affairs and ranged themselves under the banners of their king, for the honour, safety, and advantage of their country? Is there no merit in the profound secrecy guarded by a whole people, so that the enemy had not the least intelligence of the design, till they saw the fleet of transports cover the sea before their port? Is there none in the indefatigable labour the troops went through during the siege, performing the duty both of men and horses; the hardship they patiently suffered for want of tents and other necessaries; the readiness with which they learned to move, direct, and manage cannon, raise batteries, and form approaches; the bravery with which they sustained sallies; and finally, in their consenting to stay and garrison the place after it was taken, absent from their business and families, till troops could be brought from England for that purpose, though they undertook the service on a promise of being discharged as soon as

it was over, were unprovided for so long an absence, and actually suffered ten times more loss by mortal sickness through want of necessaries, than they suffered from the arms of the enemy? The nation, however, had a sense of this undertaking different from the unkind one of this gentleman. At the treaty of peace, the possession of Louisbourg was found of great advantage to our affairs in Europe; and if the brave men that made the acquisition for us were not rewarded, at least they were praised. Envy may continue a while to cavil and detract, but public virtue will in the end obtain esteem; and honest impartiality, in this and future ages, will not fail doing justice to merit.

Your gentleman writer thus decently goes on: "The most substantial men of most of the provinces are children or grandchildren of those that came here at the king's expense — that is, thieves, highwaymen, and robbers." Being probably a military gentleman, this, and therefore a person of nice honour, if any one should tell him in the plainest language that what he here says is an absolute falsehood, challenges and cutting of throats might immediately ensue. I shall therefore only refer to his own account in this same letter, of the peopling of New England, which he says with more truth, was by Puritans, who fled thither for shelter from the persecutions of Archbishop Laud. Is there not a wide difference between removing to a distant country to enjoy exercise of religion according to a man's conscience, and his being transported thither by law, as a punishment for his crimes? This contradiction we therefore leave the gentleman and himself to settle as well as they can between them. One would think from his account that the provinces were so many colonies from Newgate. The truth is, not only

Laud's persecution, but the other public troubles in the following reigns, induced many thousand families to leave England and settle in the plantations. During the predominance of the Parliament many Royalists removed or were banished to Virginia and Barbadoes, who afterward spread into other settlements. The Catholics sheltered themselves in Maryland. At the Restoration many of the deprived non-conformist ministers, with their families, friends, and hearers, went over. Towards the end of Charles the Second's reign, and during James the Second's, the dissenters again flocked into America, driven by persecution, and dreading the introduction at home. Then the high price or reward of labour in the colonies and want of artisans there drew over many, as well as the occasion of commerce; and when once people begin to migrate, every one has his little sphere of acquaintance and connections, which he draws after him by invitation, motives of interest, praising his new settlement, and other encouragements. The "most substantial men" are descendants of those early settlers, newcomers not having yet had time to raise estates. The practice of sending convicts thither is modern; and the same indolence of temper and habits of idleness that make people poor and tempt them to steal in England continue with them when they are sent to America, and must there have the same effects, where all who live well owe their subsistence to labour and business, and where it is a thousand times more difficult than here to acquire wealth without industry. Hence the instances of transported thieves advancing their fortunes in the colonies are extremely rare; if there really is a single instance of it, which I very much doubt; but of their being advanced there to the gallows the instances are plenty. Might they not as

well have been hanged at home? We call Britain the mother country; but what good mother would introduce thieves and criminals into the company of her children to corrupt and disgrace them? And how cruel is it to force, by the high hand of power, a particular country of your subjects, who have not deserved such usage, to receive your outcasts, repealing all the laws they make to prevent their admission, and then reproach them with the detested mixture you have made! "Their emptying their jails into our settlements," says a writer of that country, "is an insult and contempt, the cruellest perhaps that ever one people offered to another, and would not be equalled even by emptying their jakes on tables."

The letter I have been considering, Mr. Chronicle, is followed by another in your paper of Tuesday, the 17th, past, said to be from an officer who attended Brigadier-General Forbes, in his march from Philadelphia to Fort DuQuesne, but written probably by the same gentleman who wrote the former, as it seems calculated to raise the character of the officers of the certain northern latitude, at the expense of the reputation of the colonies and the provincial forces. According to this letter-writer, if the Pennsylvanians granted large supplies and raised a great body of troops for the last campaign, this was not on account of Mr. Pitt's zeal for the king's service, or even a regard for their own safety; but it was owing to the "general's proper management of the Quakers and other parties in the province." The withdrawing the Indians from the French interest, by negotiating a peace, is all ascribed to the general, and not a word said of the honour of the poor Quakers, who first set these negotiations on foot, or of honest Frederick Post, that completed them with so much ability and success. Even the little merit of the As-

sembly's making a law to regulate carriages is imputed to the general's "multitude of letters." Then he tells us "innumerable scouting parties had been sent out during a long period, both by the general and Colonel Bouquet, towards Fort DuQuesne, to catch a prisoner, if possible, for intelligence, but never got any." How happened that? Why, "it was the provincial troops that were constantly employed in that service," and they, it seems, never do anything they are ordered to do. That, however, one would think might be easily remedied, by sending regulars with them, who, of course, must command them, and may see that they do their duty. No; the regulars are afraid of being shot by the provincials in a panic. Then send all regulars. Aye; that was what the colonel resolved upon. "Intelligence was now wanted [says the letter writer]. Col. Bouquet, whose attention to business was [only] very considerable [that is, not quite so great as the general's, for he was not of the northern latitude], was determined to send no more provincials a-scouting." And how did he execute his determination? Why, by sending "Major Grant, of the Highlanders, with seven hundred men, three hundred of them Highlanders, the rest Americans, Virginians, and Pennsylvanians." No blunder this in our writer, but a misfortune; and he is, nevertheless, one of those "acute sharp" men who are "fit for learning." And how did this major and seven hundred men succeed in catching the prisoner? Why, their "march to Fort DuQuesne was so conducted the surprise was complete." Perhaps you may imagine, gentle reader, that this was a surprise of the enemy. No such matter. They knew every step of his motions, and had, every man of them, left their fires and huts in the fields, and retired into the fort.

But the major and his seven hundred men, they were surprised, — first to find nobody there at night, and next to find themselves surrounded and cut to pieces in the morning, two or three hundred being killed, drowned, or taken prisoners, and among the latter the major himself. Those who escaped were also surprised at their own good fortune; and the whole army was surprised at the major's bad management. Thus the surprise was indeed complete, but not the disgrace; for provincials were there to lay the blame on. The misfortune (we must not call it misconduct) of the major was owing, it seems, to an unnamed and, perhaps, unknown provincial officer, who, it is said, "disobeyed his orders and quitted his post." Whence a formal conclusion is drawn, "that a planter is not to be taken from the plough and made an officer on a day." Unhappy provincials! If success attends where you are joined with the regulars, they claim all the honour, though not a tenth part of your number. If disgrace, it is all yours, though you happen to be a small part of the whole, and have not the command; as if regulars were in their nature invincible when not mixed with provincials, and provincials of no kind of value without regulars. Happy is it for you that you were neither present at Prestonpans nor Falkirk, at the faint attempt against Rochfort, the rout of St. Cas, or the hasty retreat from Martinico. Every thing that went wrong, or did not go right, would have been ascribed to you. Our commanders would have been saved the labour of writing long apologies for their conduct. It might have been sufficient to say, provincials were with us.

A New Englandman.

503. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.[1] (P. C.)

Tuesday Morn^g, June 27, 1769.

Dear Polley,

Agreable to your Orders, delivered to me very punctually by Temple, I return you enclos'd Voltaire's Verses. The Translation I think full as good as the Original. Remember that I am to have them again.

I take this Opportunity to send you, also, a late Paper, containing a melancholy Account of the Distresses of some Seamen. You will observe in it the Advantages they receiv'd from wearing their Clothes constantly wet with Salt Water, under the total Want of fresh Water to drink. You may remember I recommended this Practice many years ago. Do you know Dr. *Len*, and did you communicate it to him? I fancy his Name is wrong spelt in this Paper, and that it should be *Lind*, having seen in the Review some Extracts from a book on Sea-Diseases, published within these 2 or 3 Years, by one Dr. Lind;[2] but I have not seen the Book, and know not whether such a Passage be in it.

I need not point out to you an Observation in favour of our Doctrine, that you will make on reading this Paper, that, *having little to eat*, these poor People in wet Clothes Day and Night *caught no Cold*.

My respects to your Aunt, and love to all that love you. Yours affectionately,

B. Franklin.

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — Ed.

[2] James Lind, M.D. (1716–1794), wrote numerous books upon the diseases of the sea. The particular work to which Franklin refers is probably "An Essay on the most effectual means of Preserving the Health of Seamen in the Royal Navy," the second edition of which appeared in 1762. — Ed.

504. TO THE COMMITTEE OF MERCHANTS IN PHILADELPHIA[1]

London, July 9, 1769.

GENTLEMEN,

I received yours of the 18th of April, enclosing copies of the articles of your agreements with respect to importation, and of your letter to the merchants here. The letter was published, and universally spoken well of, as a well written, sensible, manly, and spirited performance; and I believe the publication has been of service to our cause. You are in my opinion perfectly right in your supposition, that "the redress of American grievances likely to be proposed by the ministry will at first only be partial; and that it is intended to retain some of the revenue duties, in order to establish a right of Parliament to tax the colonies." But I hope, that, by persisting steadily in the measure you have so laudably entered into, you will, if backed by the general honest resolution of the people to buy British goods of no others, but to manufacture for themselves, or use colony manufactures only, be the means, under God, of recovering and establishing the freedom of our country entire, and of handing it down complete to posterity.

And in the mean time the country will be enriched by its industry and frugality. These virtues will become habitual. Farms will be more improved, better stocked, and rendered more productive by the money that used to be spent in superfluities. Our artificers of every kind will be enabled to carry on their business to more advantage; gold and silver will

[1] First printed by Sparks.

become more plenty among us, and trade will revive, after things shall be well settled, and become better and safer than it has lately been; for an industrious, frugal people are best able to buy, and pay best for what they purchase. With great regard, I have the honour to be, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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505. TO JOHN BARTRAM[1]

London, July 9, 1769.

DEAR FRIEND,

It is with great pleasure I understand by your favour of April 10th, that you continue to enjoy so good a share of health. I hope it will long continue. And, although it may not now be suitable for you to make such wide excursions as heretofore, you may yet be very useful to your country and to mankind, if you sit down quietly at home, digest the knowledge you have acquired, and compile and publish the many observations you have made, and point out the advantages that may be drawn from the whole, in public undertakings or particular private practice. It is true, many people are fond of accounts of old buildings, and monuments; but there is a number, who would be much better pleased with such accounts as you could afford them. And, for one, I confess, that if I could find in any Italian travels a receipt for making Parmesan cheese, it would give me more satisfaction than a transcript of any inscription from any old stone whatever.

I suppose Mr. Michael Collinson, or Dr. Fothergill, has written to you what may be necessary for your information

[1] First printed by Sparks.

relating to your affairs here. I imagine there is no doubt but the King's bounty to you will be continued; and that it will be proper for you to continue sending now and then a few such curious seeds, as you can procure, to keep up your claim. And now I mention seeds, I wish you would send me a few of such as are least common, to the value of a guinea, which Mr. Foxcroft will pay you for me. They are for a particular friend, who is very curious. If in any thing I can serve you here, command freely. Your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

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506. TO JAMES BOWDOIN[1]

DEAR SIR, London, July 13, 1769.

I am honoured with yours of May 10th, and agree with you perfectly in your sentiments of public affairs. Government here seems now to be growing more moderate with regard to America, and I am persuaded, that, by a steady, prudent conduct, we shall finally obtain all our important points, and establish American liberty on a clearer and firmer foundation. The folly of the late measures begins to be seen and understood at court; their promoters grow out of credit, and the trading part of the nation, with the manufacturers, are become sensible how necessary it is for their welfare to be on good terms with us. The petitioners of Middlesex and of London have numbered among their grievances the *unconstitutional* taxes on America, and similar petitions are expected from all quarters. So that I think we need only be quiet, and persevere in our schemes of frugality and industry, and the rest will do itself.

[1] First printed by Sparks.

Your governor[1] is recalled, and it is said the commissioners[2] will follow soon, or be new modelled with *some more* men of discretion among them. I am just setting out on a journey of five or six weeks, and have now only time to add, that I am, with the greatest esteem and regard, dear Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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507. FROM MISS MARY STEVENSON TO B. FRANKLIN[3]

Margate, September 1, 1769.

WELCOME to England! my dear, my honoured friend. Just as I began a letter to my mother, I received the news of your arrival.[4] I have the same confidence in my parent, that the Esquimaux woman had in hers; for, if my mother did not know "I always speak truth," I could not venture to say what she might be apt to doubt. I confess she has some reason to complain of me; I *must* not complain of her; I have written to her but once since I came hither, and she ——. A blank will conclude that sentence. I have had the satisfaction to hear of her by several of my correspondents. I hope you will intercede for me, that I may not be severely rebuked. Indeed, my expedition has afforded me so little entertainment, that I could not have given her any by my letters, and I know she is not so well affected to the government, as to wish to increase the revenue without some advantage to herself. She is a very good subject, notwithstanding; and a faithful disciple of yours in all points, but that of tribute. There her daughter exceeds her; for, convinced by your arguments, I turn a deaf ear to all the invitations to smuggling, and in such a place as this, it is well to have one's honesty guarded.

As I have cast a censure upon the inhabitants of this place, I must, for the honour of my landlord and his family, tell you, that they condemn and avoid those illicit practices, which are too common here. Indeed the exemplary conduct of these good people would make me join their sect, if reason would qualify me for it; but they are happily got into the flights of enthusiasm, which I cannot reach. They are certainly the happiest people, and I should be glad to be like them; but my reason will not suffer me, and my heart prevents my

[1] Sir Francis Bernard, Governor of Massachusetts. He embarked at Boston on the 1st of August. — ED.

[2] Commissioners of the Customs in Boston. — ED.

[3] First printed by Sparks.

[4] From a tour on the continent. — ED.

playing the hypocrite ; so your Polly must remain as she is, neither in the world, nor out of it. How strangely I let my pen run on to a philosopher! but that philosopher is my friend, and I may write what I please to him.

I met with a very sensible physician yesterday, who prescribes abstinence for the cure of consumptions. He must be clever, because he thinks as *we* do. I would not have you or my mother surprised, if I should run off with this young man. To be sure it would be an imprudent step, at the discreet age of thirty ; but there is no saying what one should do, if solicited by a man of an insinuating address and good person, though he may be too young for one and not yet established in his profession. He engaged me so deeply in conversation, and I was so much pleased with him, that I thought it necessary to give you warning, though I assure you he has made no *proposal*.[1]

How I rattle ! This flight must be owing to this new acquaintance, or to the joy of hearing my old one is returned to this country. I know which I attribute it to, for I can tell when my spirits were enlivened ; but you may think as you please, if you will believe me to be, dear Sir, your truly affectionate humble servant,

MARY STEVENSON.

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508. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.[2] (P. C.)

Saturday Evening, Septr. 2, 1769.

JUST come home from a Venison Feast, where I have drank more than a Philosopher ought, I find my dear Polly's chearful, chatty Letter, that exhilirates me more than all the Wine.

Your good Mother says there is no Occasion for any Intercession of mine in your behalf. She is sensible that she is more in fault than her Daughter. She received an affectionate, tender Letter from you, and she has not answered it, tho' she intended to do it; but her Head, not her Heart, has been bad, and unfitted her for Writing. She owns, that she is not so good a Subject as you are, and that she is more

[1] Probably Mr. William Hewson (1739–1774), to whom she was married the year following. — ED.

[2] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — ED.

unwilling to pay Tribute to Cesar, and has less Objection to Smuggling; but 'tis not, she says, mere Selfishness or Avarice; 'tis rather an honest Resentment at the Waste of those Taxes in Pensions, Salaries, Perquisites, Contracts, and other Emoluments for the Benefit of People she does not love, and who do not deserve such Advantages, because — I suppose — because they are not of her Party.

Present my Respects to your good Landlord and his Family. I honour them for their conscientious Aversion to illicit Trading. There are those in the World, who would not wrong a Neighbour, but make no Scruple of cheating the King. The Reverse, however, does not hold; for whoever scruples cheating the King, will certainly not wrong his Neighbour.

You ought not to wish yourself an Enthusiast. They have, indeed, their imaginary Satisfactions and Pleasures, but these are often ballanc'd by imaginary Pains and Mortifications. You can continue to be a good Girl, and thereby lay a solid Foundation for expected future Happiness, without the Enthusiasm that may perhaps be necessary to some others. As those Beings, who have a good sensible Instinct, have no need of Reason, so those, who have Reason to regulate their Actions, have no Occasion for Enthusiasm. However, there are certain Circumstances in Life, sometimes, wherein 'tis perhaps best not to hearken to Reason. For instance; possibly, if the Truth were known, I have Reason to be jealous of this same insinuating, handsome young Physician; but, as it flatters more my Vanity, and therefore gives me more Pleasure, to suppose you were in Spirits on acc^{t} of my safe Return, I shall turn a deaf Ear to Reason in this Case, as I have done with Success in twenty others. But I am sure

you will always give me Reason enough to continue ever your affectionate Friend,

B. Franklin.

P. S. Our Love to Mrs. Tickell. We all long for your Return. Your Dolly was well last Tuesday; the Girls were there on a Visit to her; I mean at Bromley. Adieu. No time now to give you any acc[t] of my French Journey.

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509. TO CADWALLADER EVANS[1]

London, September 7, 1769.

Dear Sir,

I have now before me your favours of June 11th and July 15th. I thank you for communicating to me the observations of the transit made by Messrs. Biddle and Bayley. I gave them immediately to Mr. Maskelyne, the Astronomer Royal, who will compare and digest the whole received from different parts of the world, and report thereon to the Royal Society. They are the only ones I have received from our Society; those made by the others were sent to Mr. Penn. Being last week with Mr. Maskelyne, at Flamsteed House, I found he had got them. I shall send him to-day the corrected account, which I have since received from you by way of Liverpool.

I should be very sorry that any thing of party remained in The American Philosophical Society after the union. Here the Royal Society is of all parties, but party is entirely out of the question in all our proceedings.

It grieves me to hear that our friend Galloway is in so bad a

[1] First published by Sparks.

state of health. He should make a long journey, or take a sea voyage. I wish he would come to London for the winter.

Mr. Henry's *Register*, which you communicated to me last year, is thought a very ingenious one, and will be published here, though it has long been delayed. I have not seen Mrs. Dowell. I suppose she is not yet come to town. At least I have not heard of her being here, though possibly she might while I was in France.

Our friend W——,[1] who is always complaining of a constant fever, looks nevertheless fresh and jolly, and does not fall away in the least. He was saying the other day at Richmond, (where we were together dining with Governor Pownall,) that he had been pestered with a fever almost continually for these three years past, and that it gave way to no medicines, all he had taken, advised by different physicians, having never any effect towards removing it. On which I asked him, if it was not now time to inquire, whether he had really any fever at all. He is indeed the only instance I ever knew, of a man's growing fat upon a fever. But I see no occasion for reading him the lecture you desired, for he appears to me extremely temperate in his eating and drinking. His affairs here are I think in a good train, but every thing to be transacted in our great offices requires time. I suppose he will hardly be able to return before the spring.

By a ship just sailed from hence, (the captain a stranger, whose name I have forgotten,) I send you a late French treatise on the management of silkworms. It is said to be the best hitherto published, being written in the silk country by a gentleman well acquainted with the whole affair. It seems to me to be, like many other French writings, rather too

[1] Thomas Wharton. — Ed.

much drawn out in words; but some extracts from it, of the principal directions, might be of use, if you would translate and publish them. I think the bounty is offered for silk from all the colonies in general. I will send you the act. But I believe it must be wound from the cocoons, and sent over in skeins. The cocoons would spoil on the passage, by the dead worm corrupting and staining the silk. A public filature should be set up for winding them there; or every family should learn to wind their own. In Italy they are all brought to market, from the neighbouring country, and bought up by those that keep the filatures. In Sicily each family winds its own silk, for the sake of having the remains to card and spin for family use. If some provision were made by the Assembly for promoting the growth of mulberry trees in all parts of the province, the culture of silk might afterwards follow easily. For the great discouragement to breeding worms at first is the difficulty of getting leaves and the being obliged to go far for them.

There is no doubt with me but that it might succeed in our country. It is the happiest of all inventions for clothing. Wool uses a good deal of land to produce it, which, if employed in raising corn, would afford much more subsistence for man, than the mutton amounts to. Flax and hemp require good land, impoverish it, and at the same time permit it to produce no food at all. But mulberry trees may be planted in hedge-rows on walks or avenues, or for shade near a house, where nothing else is wanted to grow. The food for the worms, which produce the silk, is in the air, and the ground under the trees may still produce grass, or some other vegetable good for man or beast. Then the wear of silken garments continues so much longer, from the strength of the materials, as

to give it greatly the preference. Hence it is that the most populous of all countries, China, clothes its inhabitants with silk, while it feeds them plentifully, and has besides a vast quantity both raw and manufactured to spare for exportation. Raw silk here, in skeins well wound, sells from twenty to twenty-five shillings per pound; but, if badly wound, is not worth five shillings. Well wound is, when the threads are made to cross each other every way in the skein, and only touch where they cross. Badly wound is, when they are laid parallel to each other; for so they are glued together, break in unwinding them, and take a vast deal of time more than the other, by losing the end every time the thread breaks. When once you can raise plenty of silk, you may have manufactures enough from hence. With great esteem, I am, my dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. Franklin.

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510. TO BARBEU DUBOURG (A. P. S.)

London, Sept. 22, 1769.

Dear Sir,

With this you will receive some Sheets of the Piece now printing, and which I am promis'd shall be finish'd in a few Days. — I am afraid it is not so correct as it should be; But as I have been advis'd not to publish it till next Month, most of our Gentry being yet out of Town, there will be time for you to send me the Errata which may be printed at the End. —

I send you also Dr Priestly's Essay on the first Principles of [Government] lately published, in which you will find some [mutilated] & free Sentiments.

I wrote to you two or three Weeks since by M. Lettsom a

Quaker Physician, recommending him to your Civilities.[1] — I can now only add, with my best Respects to good Madame Dubourg, that I am as ever, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Friend, &
most obedient humble Servt.
B. FRANKLIN.

Be so good as to present my respectful Compliments to M. Beaumont,[2] for whom I have the highest Esteem, and to Mr Dupont. Please to acquaint the latter, that Dr. Templeman[3] had done nothing in the Subscriptions, the Society having been in *Vacance;* — and the good Gentleman, is, I am afraid, now dying.

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511. TO THOMAS-FRANÇOIS DALIBARD

(A. P. S.)

London, Sept. 22, 1769 —

DEAR FRIEND,

Having this Opportunity by M. Le Roy, I embrace it to thank you most heartily for the many Civilities & Marks of Friendship I received from you & Mad. Dalibard, while in Paris; & to express my sincere & cordial Wishes for your

[1] "London August 30, 1769

"This letter will be forwarded to you by Dr. Lettsom, a young American physician of much merit, and one of the peaceable sect of Quakers; you will therefore at least regard him as a curiosity, even though you should have embraced all the opinions of the majority of your countrymen concerning these people. "B. FRANKLIN.

"To M. DUBOURG."

[2] See letter to Samuel Cooper, April 14, 1770. — ED.

[3] Dr. Peter Templeman (1711–1769), Secretary of the Society of Arts, died before this letter was written (August 23, 1769). — ED.

Health & Prosperity: in which I am join'd by my Friend Sir John Pringle. —

As I cannot soon again enjoy the Happiness of being personally in your Company, permit my Shadow to pay my Respects to you. 'Tis from a Plate my Son caus'd to be engrav'd some Years since. — With the greatest Esteem & Respect, I have the honour to be, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant

B. Franklin.

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512. TO SAMUEL COOPER (B. M.)

Dear Sir, London, Sept. 30, 1769.

Your favour of Augt 3d has given me great Pleasure. I have only time now to acknowledge the Receipt of it, but purpose to write fully by the next Opportunity. I am just returned from France, where I found our Dispute much attended to, several of our Pamphlets being translated and printed there, among the rest my *Examination*[1] and the *Farmer's Letters*,[2] with two of my Pieces annex'd, of which last I send you a Copy. In short, all Europe (except Britain) appears to be on our side the question. But Europe has its Reasons. It fancies itself in some Danger from the Growth of British Power, and would be glad to see it divided against itself. Our prudence will, I hope, long postpone the Satisfaction our Enemies expect from our Dissensions. With sincere and great Esteem, I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servt

B. Franklin.

[1] Examination before the House of Commons. — Ed.

[2] Written by John Dickinson, and published in London, with a Preface by Dr. Franklin. — Ed.

513. TO ANTHONY TODD (P. R. O. A. W. I.)

Craven Street, October 29, 1769.

Sir: — Discoursing with Captain Folger, a very intelligent Mariner of the Island of Nantucket, in New England, concerning the long Passages made by some ships bound from England to New York, I received from him the following Information, viz.,

That the Island in which he lives is inhabited chiefly by People concerned in the Whale Fishery, in which they employed near 150 Sail of Vessels; that the Whales are found generally near the Edges of the *Gulph Stream*, a strong Current so called, which comes out of the Gulph of Florida, passing Northeasterly along the Coast of America, and then turning off most Easterly, running at the rate of 4, $3\frac{1}{2}$, 3, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ Miles an Hour. That the Whaling Business leading these People to cruise along the Edges of the Stream in quest of Whales, they are become better acquainted with the Course, Breadth, Strength, and Extent of the same, than those Navigators can well be who only cross it in their Voyages to and from America, that they have Opportunities of discovering the strength of it when their Boats are out in the pursuit of this Fish, and happen to get into the Stream while the Ship is out of it, or out of the Stream while the Ship is in it, for then they are separated very fast, and would soon loose sight of each other if care were not taken that in crossing the Stream to and fro, they frequently in the same meet and speak with Ships bound from England to New York, Virginia, &c. who have Passages of 8, 9, and 10 weeks and are still far from Land, and not likely to be in with it for some time, being en-

gaged in that part of the Stream that sets directly against them, and it is supposed that their Fear of Cape Sable Shoals, George's Banks, or Nantucket Shoals, hath induced them to keep so far to the southward as unavoidably to engage them in the said Gulph Stream, which occasions the length of their Voyage, since in a Calm it carries them directly back, and tho' they may have fair Winds, yet the Current being 60 or 70 Miles a Day, is so much subtracted from the way they make thro' the Water. At my request Captain Folger hath been so obliging as to mark for me on a Chart the Dimensions, Course and Swiftness of the Stream from its first coming out of the Gulph when it is narrowest and strongest, until it turns away to go to the southward of the Western Islands, where it is Broader and Weaker, and to give me withall some written Directions whereby Ships bound from the Banks of Newfoundland to New York may avoid the said Stream; and yet be free of Danger from the Banks and Shoals above mentioned. As I apprehend that such Chart and Directions may be of use to our Packets in shortning their Voyages, I send them to you, that if their Lordships should think fit, so much of the Chart as is contained within the Red Lines may be engraved, and printed, together with the Remarks, at the Charge of the Office; or at least the Manuscript Copies may be made of the same for the use of the Packets. The Expence of the former would not much exceed the latter and would besides be of general Service.

With much Esteem, I am, etc.

B. Franklin.

Endorsed: "Craven Street, Oct. 29th, 1769, Dr. Franklin to Mr. Todd. In Mr. Todd's to Mr. Pownall, of 17.th Feb.y 1769."

514. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON[1] (P. C.)

Craven Street, Sat. eve. past ten. [1769]

At length I have found an Hour, in which I think I may chat with my dear good Girl, free from Interruption.

The Attention you have always shown to everything you think agreable to me, demands my most grateful Acknowledgements. I have receiv'd the Garters you have so kindly knit for me; they are of the only Sort that I can wear, having worn none of any kind for 20 Years, till you began to supply me; but besides their Usefulness, these appear to me the finest, neatest, and prettiest that were ever made!

Accept my heartiest Thanks, and be assured that I shall think as often of you in the Wearing, as you did of me in the Making them.

The Question you ask me is a very sensible one, and I shall be glad if I can give you a satisfactory Answer. There are two Ways of contracting a Chimney; one, by contracting the Opening *before* the Fire; the other, by contracting the Funnel *above* the Fire. If the Funnel above the Fire is left open in its full Dimensions, and the Opening before the Fire is contracted; then the Coals, I imagine, will burn faster, because more Air is directed through the Fire, and in a stronger Stream; that Air which before pass'd over it, and on each side of it, now passing *thro'* it. This is seen in narrow Stove Chimneys, when a Sacheverell or Blower is used, which still more contracts the narrow Opening. But if the Funnel only *above* the Fire is contracted, then, as a less Stream of Air is

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — Ed.

passing up the Chimney, less must pass thro' the Fire, and consequently it should seem that the Consuming of the Coals would rather be check'd than augmented by such Contraction. And this will also be the Case, when both the Opening *before* the Fire, and the Funnel *above* the Fire are contracted, provided the Funnel above the Fire is more contracted in Proportion than the Opening before the Fire.

So you see I think you had the best of the Argument; and, as you notwithstanding gave it up in Complaisance to the Company, I think you had also the best of the Dispute. There are few, tho' convinc'd, that know how to give up, even an Error, they have been once engag'd in maintaining; there is therefore the more Merit in dropping a Contest where one thinks one's self right; 'tis at least respectful to those we converse with. And indeed all our Knowledge is so imperfect, and we are from a thousand Causes so perpetually subject to Mistake and Error, that Positiveness can scarce ever become even the most knowing; and Modesty in advancing any Opinion, however plain and true we may suppose it, is always decent, and generally more likely to procure assent. Pope's Rule,

"To speak, tho' sure, with seeming Diffidence,"

is therefore a good one; and, if I had ever seen in your Conversation the least Deviation from it, I should earnestly recommend it to your Observation.[1]

I am, &c.

B. Franklin.

[1] A paragraph of no importance omitted. — Ed.

515. QUERIES

BY MR. STRAHAN,

RESPECTING AMERICAN AFFAIRS,

AND

DR. FRANKLIN'S ANSWERS[1] (B. M.)

W. STRAHAN TO B. FRANKLIN

New Street, Nov. 22d, 1769.

DEAR SIR,

In the many conversations we have had together about our present disputes with North America, we perfectly agreed in wishing they may be brought to a speedy and happy conclusion. How this is to be done is not so easily ascertained.

Five [sic] objects, I humbly apprehend, his Majesty's servants have now in contemplation. First, To relieve the colonies from the taxes complained of, which they certainly had no hand in imposing. Secondly, To preserve the honour, the dignity, and the supremacy of the British legislature over all his Majesty's dominions.

As I know your singular knowledge of the subject in question, and am as fully convinced of your cordial attachment to his Majesty, and your sincere desire to promote the happiness equally of all his subjects, I beg you would, in your own clear, brief, and explicit manner, send me an answer to the following questions. I make this request now, because this matter is of the utmost importance, and must very quickly be agitated. And I do it with the more freedom, as you know me and my motives too well, to entertain the most remote suspicion that I will make an improper use of any information you shall hereby convey to me.

1. Will not a repeal of all the duties (that on tea excepted, which was before paid here on exportation, and of course no new imposition,) fully satisfy the colonists? If you answer in the negative,

[1] From the original Ms. in B. M. A French version is in A. P. S. dated November 21st. — ED.

2. Your reasons for that opinion?

3. Do you think the only effectual way of composing the present differences, is to put the Americans precisely in the situation they were in before the passing of the late Stamp Act? If that is your opinion,

4. Your reasons for that opinion?

5. If this last method is deemed by the legislature and his Majesty's ministers to be repugnant to their duty, as guardians of the just rights of the crown and of their fellow subjects, can you suggest any other way of terminating these disputes, consistent with the ideas of justice and propriety conceived by the King's subjects on both sides of the Atlantic?

6. And, if this method was actually followed, do you not think it would actually encourage the violent and factious part of the colonists to aim at still farther concessions from the mother country?

7. If they are relieved in part only, what do you, as a reasonable and dispassionate man, and an equal friend to both sides, imagine will be the probable consequences?

The answers to these questions, I humbly conceive, will include all the information I want, and I beg you will favour me with them as soon as may be. Every well-wisher to the peace and prosperity of the British empire, and every friend to our truly happy constitution, must be desirous of seeing even the most trivial causes of dissension among our fellow subjects removed. Our domestic squabbles, in my mind, are nothing to what I am speaking of. This you know much better than I do, and therefore I need add nothing farther to recommend this subject to your serious consideration. I am, with the most cordial esteem and attachment, dear Sir, your faithful and affectionate humble servant,

W. Strahan.

THE ANSWER (B. M.)

Craven Street, Novr 29, 1769.

Dear Sir,

Being just returned to Town from a little excursion, I find yours of the 22^{d}, containing a number of Queries, that would require a Pamphlet to answer them fully. You, however, desire only brief Answers, which I shall endeavour to give you.

Previous to your Queries, you tell me that you apprehend his Majesty's Servants have now "in Contemplation, First,

to relieve the Colonists from the Taxes complained of; And 2'ly, to preserve the Honor, the Dignity, and the Supremacy of the British Legislature over all his Majesty's Dominions." I hope your Information is good, and that what you suppose to be in Contemplation, will be carried into Execution, by repealing all the Laws that have been made for raising a Revenue in America, by Authority of Parliament, without the Consent of the People there. The Honor and Dignity of the British Legislature will not be hurt by such an Act of Justice and Wisdom. The wisest Councils are liable to be misled, especially in Matters remote from their Inspection. It is the Persisting in an Error, not the Correcting it, that lessens the Honor of any Man or Body of Men.

The Supremacy of that Legislature, I believe, will be best preserved by making a very sparing use of it, never, but for the evident good of the Colonies themselves, or of the whole British Empire, never, for the partial Advantage of Britain, to their Prejudice: By such prudent Conduct, I imagine that Supremacy may be gradually strengthened, and in Time fully established; but otherwise, I apprehend it will be disputed, and lost in the Dispute. At present the Colonies consent and submit to it for the Regulations of general Commerce; but a Submission to Acts of Parliament was no part of their original Constitution. Our former Kings governed their Colonies, as they had governed their Dominions in France, without the Participation of British Parliaments. The Parliament of England never presumed to interfere with that Prerogative, till the Time of the great Rebellion, when they usurped the Government of all the King's other Dominions, Ireland, Scotland, &c. The Colonies that held for the King, they conquered by Force of Arms, and governed after-

wards as conquered Countries; but New England, having not opposed the Parliament, was considered and treated as a Sister-Kingdom in Amity with England, as appears by the Journals, *March 10th*, 1642.

"1. Will not a repeal of all the duties (that on Tea excepted, which was before paid here on Exportation, and of course no new Imposition,) fully satisfy the Colonists?"

Answer. I think not.

"2. Your reasons for that Opinion?"

A. Because it is not the Sum paid in that Duty on Tea, that is complained of as a burthen, but the Principle of the Act expressed in the preamble; viz. that those Duties were laid for the better Support of Government, and the Administration of Justice, in the Colonies.[1] This the Colonists think unnecessary, unjust, and dangerous to their most important Rights. *Unnecessary*, because in all the Colonies (two or three new ones are excepted)[2] Government and the Administration of Justice were, and always had been, well supported without any Charge to Britain; *unjust*, as it has made such Colonies liable to pay such Charge for others, in which they had no Concern or Interest; *dangerous*, as such Mode of raising Money for those Purposes tended to render their Assemblies useless; for, if a Revenue could be raised in the Colonies for all the Purposes of Government by Act of Parliament, without Grants from the People there, Governors, who do not

[1] "Men may lose little property by an act which takes away all their freedom. When a man is robbed of a trifle on the highway, it is not the two pence lost that makes the capital outrage. Would twenty shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No! but the payment of half twenty shillings, on the principle it was demanded, would have made him a slave." See Mr. Burke's Speeches in 1774 and 1775. — V.

[2] Nova Scotia, Georgia, the Floridas, and Canada.

generally love Assemblies, would never call them. They would be laid aside; and, when nothing should depend on the people's good Will to Government, their Rights would be trampled on; they would be treated with Contempt.

Another Reason why I think they would not be satisfied with such a partial Repeal is, that their Agreements not to import till the Repeal takes place, include the whole, which shows that they object to the whole, and those Agreements will continue binding on them if the whole is not repealed.

"3. Do you think the only effectual Way of composing the present Differences is, to put the Americans precisely in the Situation they were in before the passing of the late Stamp Act?"

A. I think so.

"4. Your Reasons for that Opinion?"

A. Other Methods have been tried. They have been rebuk'd in angry Letters. Their Petitions have been refused or rejected by Parliament. They have been threatened with the punishment of Treason by Resolves of both Houses. Their Assemblies have been dissolved, and Troops have been sent among them; but all these Ways have only exasperated their Minds and widened the Breach. Their Agreements to use no more British Manufactures have been strengthened; and these Measures, instead of composing Differences, and promoting a good Correspondence, have almost annihilated your Commerce with those Countries, and greatly endangered the national Peace and general Welfare.

"5. If this last Method is deemed by the Legislature and his Majesty's Ministers to be repugnant to their duty, as Guardians of the just Rights of the Crown and of their Fellow Subjects, can you suggest any other way of terminating these

Disputes, consistent with the Ideas of Justice and Propriety conceived by the King's Subjects on both sides of the Atlantic?"

A. I do not see how that Method can be deemed repugnant to the Rights of the Crown. If the Americans are put into their former Situation, it must be by an Act of Parliament; in the passing of which by the King, the Rights of the Crown are exercised, not infringed. It is indifferent to the Crown whether the Aids received from America are granted by Parliament here, or by the Assemblies there, provided the *quantum* be the same; and it is my Opinion, that more will be generally granted there voluntarily, than can ever be exacted or collected from thence by Authority of Parliament.

As to the Rights of Fellow Subjects (I suppose you mean the People of Britain), I cannot conceive how those will be infringed by that Method. They will still enjoy the Right of granting their own Money, and may still, if it pleases them, keep up their Claim to the right of granting Ours; a Right they can never exercise properly, for Want of a sufficient Knowledge of us, our Circumstances and Abilities, (to say nothing of the little Likelihood there is that we should ever submit to it,) therefore a Right that can be of no good Use to them; and we shall continue to enjoy *in fact* the Right of granting our Money, with the Opinion now universally prevailing among us, that we are free subjects of the King, and that Fellow Subjects of one part of his Dominions are not Sovereigns over Fellow Subjects in any other part.

If the Subjects on the different Sides of the Atlantic have different and opposite Ideas of "Justice and Propriety," no one "Method" can possibly be consistent with both. The best will be, to let each enjoy their own Opinions, without

disturbing them, when they do not interfere with the common Good.

"6. And, if this Method were actually followed, do you not think it would encourage the violent and factious Part of the Colonists to aim at still farther Concessions from the Mother Country?"

A. I do not think it would. There may be a few among them, that deserve the Name of factious and violent, as there are in all Countries; but these would have little Influence, if the great Majority of sober, reasonable People were satisfied. If any Colony should happen to think that some of your Regulations of Trade are inconvenient to the general Interest of the Empire, or prejudicial to them without being beneficial to you, they will state these Matters to the Parliament in Petitions as heretofore; but will, I believe, take no violent Steps to obtain what they may hope for in Time from the wisdom of Government here. I know of nothing else they can have in view; the Notion that prevails here of their being desirous to set up a Kingdom or Commonwealth of their own, is, to my certain Knowledge, entirely groundless.

I therefore think, that, on a total Repeal of all Duties, laid expressly for the Purpose of raising a Revenue on the People of America without their Consent, the present Uneasiness would subside; the Agreements not to import would be dissolved; and the Commerce flourish as heretofore; and I am confirmed in this Sentiment by all the Letters I have received from America, and by the Opinions of all the sensible People who have lately come from thence, Crown Officers excepted.

I know, indeed, that the People of Boston are grievously offended by the Quartering of Troops among them, as they think, contrary to Law and are very angry with the Board of

Commissioners, who have calumniated them to Government; but, as I suppose withdrawing of those Troops may be a Consequence of reconciliating Measures taking place; and that the Commission also will either be desolved, if found useless, or filled with more temperate and prudent Men, if still deemed useful and necessary; I do not imagine these Particulars would prevent a Return of the Harmony so much to be wished.

"7. If they are relieved in part only, what do you, as a reasonable and dispassionate Man, and an equal Friend to both Sides, imagine will be the probable Consequences?"

A. I imagine, that repealing the offensive Duties in part will answer no end to this Country; the Commerce will remain obstructed, and the Americans go on with their Schemes of Frugality, Industry, and Manufactures, to their own great Advantage. How much that may tend to the Prejudice of Britain, I cannot say; perhaps not so much as some apprehend, since she may in time find new Markets. But I think, if the Union of the two Countries continues to subsist, it will not hurt the *general* Interest; for whatever Wealth Britain loses by the Failing of its Trade with the Colonies, America will gain; and the Crown will receive equal Aids from its Subjects upon the whole, if not greater.

And now I have answered your Questions as to what may be, in my Opinion, the Consequences of this or that supposed Measure, I will go a little farther, and tell you what I fear is more likely to come to pass in Reality. I apprehend that the Ministry, at least the American Part of it, being fully persuaded of the Right of Parliament, think it ought to be enforced, whatever may be the Consequences; and at the same time do not believe, there is even now any Abatement of the

Trade between the two Countries on account of these Disputes; or that, if there is, it is small, and cannot long continue.

They are assured by the Crown Officers in America, that Manufactures are impossible there; that the Discontented are few, and persons of little Consequence; that almost all the People of Property and Importance are satisfied, and disposed to submit quietly to the taxing Power of Parliament; and that, if the Revenue Acts are continued, and those Duties only that are called anti-commercial be repealed, and others perhaps laid instead; that Power will ere long be patiently submitted to, and the Agreements not to import be broken, when they are found to produce no Change of Measures here.

From these and similar Misinformations, which seem to be credited, I think it likely that no thorough Redress of Grievances will be afforded to America this Session. This may inflame Matters still more in that Country; farther rash Measures there may create more Resentment here, that may produce not merely ill-advised and useless Dissolutions of their Assemblies, as last year, but Attempts to dissolve their Constitutions; more Troops may be sent over, which will create more Uneasiness; to justify the Measures of Government, your Writers will revile the Americans in your Newspapers, as they have already begun to do; treating them as Miscreants, Rogues, Dastards, Rebels, &c., which will tend farther to alienate the minds of the people here from them, and diminish their Affections to this Country. Possibly, too, some of their warm Patriots may be distracted enough to expose themselves by some mad Action to be sent for hither; and Government here be indiscreet enough to hang them, on the Act of Henry the Eighth.

Mutual Provocations will thus go on to complete the Separation; and instead of that cordial Affection that once and so long existed, and that Harmony, so suitable to the Circumstances, and so necessary to the Happiness, Strength, Safety, and Welfare of both Countries; an implacable Malice and mutual Hatred, such as we now see subsisting between the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Genoese and Corsicans, from the same original Misconduct in the superior Governments, will take Place; the Sameness of Nation, the Similarity of Religion, Manners, and Language not in the least preventing in our Case, more than it did in theirs.

I hope, however, that this may all prove false Prophecy, and that you and I may live to see as sincere and perfect a Friendship established between our respective Countries, as has so many years subsisted between Mr. Strahan and his truly affectionate old Friend,

B. Franklin.

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516. TO JOHN BARTRAM[1]

London, January 11, 1770.

My ever dear Friend,

I received your kind letter of November 29th, with the parcel of seeds, for which I am greatly obliged to you. I cannot make you adequate returns in kind; but I send you however some of the true rhubarb seed, which you desire. I had it from Mr. English, who lately received a medal of the Society of Arts for propagating it. I send also some green dry peas, highly esteemed here as the best for making pea soup; and also some Chinese *caravances*, with Father Navar-

[1] First printed by Sparks.

rete's [1] account of the universal use of a cheese made of them in China, which so excited my curiosity, that I caused inquiry to be made of Mr. Flint, who lived many years there, in what manner the cheese was made, and I send you his answer. I have since learned, that some runnings of salt (I suppose runnet) is put into water, when the meal is in it, to turn it to curds. I think we have *caravances* [2] with us, but I know not whether they are the same with these, which actually came from China. They are said to be of great increase.

I shall inquire of Mr. Collinson for your *Journal*. I see that of East Florida is printed with Stork's *Account*.[3] My love to good Mrs. Bartram and your children. With esteem I am ever, my dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. Franklin.

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517. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON [4] (P. C.)

Craven Street, Jan. 22, 1770.

Dear Polly,

I received your Favour of Saturday, early this Morning, and am as usual much obliged by the kind Readiness with which you have done what I requested.

Your good Mother has complain'd more of her Head since you left us than ever before. If she stoops, or looks,

[1] Domingo-Hernandez Navarrete (1610–1698) went as missionary to China. Many curious observations of Chinese life are contained in his "Tratudos historicos, politicos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China" (1676). — Ed.

[2] *Caravances* or *calavances* seems to be used loosely for various kinds of pease, beans, lentils, etc. — Ed.

[3] "A Description of East Florida, with a Journal kept by John Bartram of Philadelphia" [William Stork], London, 1769. — Ed.

[4] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — Ed.

or bends her Neck downwards, on any occasion, it is with great Pain and Difficulty, that she gets her Head up again. She has, therefore, borrowed a Breast and Neck Collar of Mrs. Wilkes, such as Misses wear, and now uses it to keep her Head up. Mr. Strahan has invited us all to dine there to-morrow, but she has excused herself. Will you come, and go with me? If you cannot well do that, you will at least be with us on Friday to go to Lady Strachans.

As to my own Head, which you so kindly enquire after, its Swimming has gradually worn off, and to-day for the first Time I felt nothing of it on getting out of Bed. But, as this speedy Recovery is, (as I am fully persuaded) owing to the extream Abstemiousness I have observed for some Days past at home, I am not without Apprehensions, that, being to dine abroad this Day, to-morrow, and next Day, I may inadvertently bring it on again, if I do not think of my little Monitor and guardian Angel, and make use of the proper and very pertinent Clause she proposes, in my Grace. Here comes a Morning Visitor. Adieu. My best Respects to Mrs. Tickel. I am, my dear Friend, yours affectionately,

B. Franklin.

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518. TO NEVIL MASKELYNE[1]

Craven Street, February 12, 1770.

Dear Sir,

I have just received a letter from Mr. Winthrop, dated December 7th, containing the following account, viz.

"On Thursday, the 9th of November, I had an opportunity

[1] Read at the Royal Society, January 10, 1771. Maskelyne (1732–1811) became astronomer royal, February 26, 1765. — Ed.

of observing a transit of Mercury. I had carefully adjusted my clock to the apparent time, by correspondent altitudes of the Sun, taken with the quadrant for several days before, and with the same reflecting telescope as I used for the transit of Venus. I first perceived the little planet making an impression on the sun's limb at $2^h\ 52'\ 41''$; and he appeared wholly within at $53'\ 58''$ apparent time. The sun set before the planet reached the middle of his course; and for a considerable time before sunset, it was so cloudy, that the planet could not be discerned. So that I made no observations of consequence, except that of the beginning, at which time the sun was perfectly clear. This transit completes three periods of forty-six years, since the first observation of Gassendi at Paris, in 1631."

I am, Sir, with great esteem,
Your most obedient servant,
B. FRANKLIN.

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519. TO THOMAS VINY[1] (P. C.)

London, Feb. 16. 1770

DEAR SIR.

I received your Favour of the 13th past, which I ought to have acknowledg'd sooner, but much Business and some Indisposition have occasion'd the Delay. I can easily conceive the Difficulty a Man in your Situation, with such Connections, and so well esteem'd and belov'd among them, must have in resolving to leave them with an Intention of Settling in a distant Country. And I do not wonder that

[1] From the original in the possession of M. Mossant, Conseiller Génerále, Bourg-de-Peage, France. — ED.

your Regard for them should determine you to remain where you are. I was indeed of Opinion, from my Knowledge of that Country and of you, that if you should remove thither with your Family and Substance you would not only do extreamly well yourself, but have better Opportunities of establishing your Children in the World. Therefore I did not dissuade you when you appear'd to have such an Inclination. But at the same time, tho' I own I should have a Pleasure in adding such worthy Inhabitants to my Country as you and Mrs. Viny, and should be very happy in having you there for my Neighbours; yet as your Removal would give Pain to your good Brother here, whom I love and to many others that love you, I cannot, without extreme Reluctance think of using any Arguments to persuade you. Let us then leave that Matter where we found it.

Possibly, however, as you are likely to have many Children, you may hereafter judge it not amiss, when they are grown up, to plant one of them in America, where he may prepare an Asylum for the rest, should any great Calamity, which God avert, befal this Country. A Man I knew, who had a Number of Sons, us'd to say, he chose to settle them at some Distance from each other, for he thought they throve better; remarking that Cabbages growing too near together, were not so likely to come to a Head. — I shall be asleep before that time, otherwise he might expect and command my best Advice and Assistance. But as the Ancients who knew not how to write had a Method of transmitting Friendships to Posterity; the Guest who had been hospitably entertain'd in a strange Country breaking a Stick with every one who did him a kindness; and the Producing such a Tally at any Time afterwards, by a Descendant of the Host, to a

Son or Grandson of the Guest, was understood as a good Claim to special Regard besides the Common Rights of Hospitality: So if this Letter should happen to be preserv'd, your Son may produce it to mine as an Evidence of the Good will that once subsisted between their Fathers, as an Acknowledgement of the Obligations you laid me under by your many Civilities when I was in your Country and a Claim to all the Returns due from me if I had been living. Pray make my best Respects acceptable to good Mrs. Viny, and give my Love to your Children. Be so good, too, as to remember me respectfully to your Sister and Brother-in-law, to Mr. Stace and Family, and to Mr. Hancock; and believe me ever, with sincere Regard, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

B. Franklin.

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520. TO MICHAEL HILLEGAS[1]

London, March 17, 1770.

Dear Sir,

I received your favour of November 25, and have made inquiries, as you desired, concerning the copper covering of houses. It has been used here in a few instances only, and the practice does not seem to gain ground. The copper is about the thickness of a common playing-card, and though a dearer metal than lead, I am told that as less weight serves, on account of its being so much thinner, and as slighter woodwork in the roof is sufficient to support it, the roof is not dearer, on the whole, than one covered with lead.

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 70. Michael Hillegas (1728–1804), a merchant of Philadelphia, was Treasurer of the United States, 1775–1789.

It is said, that hail and rain make a disagreeable drumming noise on copper; but this, I suppose, is rather fancy; for the plates being fastened to the rafters must, in a great measure, deaden such sound. The first cost, whatever it is, will be all, as a copper covering must last for ages; and, when the house decays, the plates will still have intrinsic worth. In Russia, I am informed, many houses are covered with plates of iron tinned, (such as our tin pots and other wares are made of,) laid on over the edges of one another, like tiles; and which, it is said, last very long; the tin preserving the iron from much decay by rusting. In France and the Low Countries I have seen many spouts or pipes for conveying the water down from the roofs of houses, made of the same kind of tin plates, soldered together; and they seem to stand very well.

With sincere regard, I am
Yours, &c.
B. Franklin.

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521. TO AN UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT IN AMERICA [1]

London, March 18, 1770.

Dear Sir,

Your very judicious letter of November 26th, being communicated by me to some member of Parliament, was handed about among them, so that it was some time before I got it again into my hands. It had due weight with several, and was of considerable use. You will see that I printed it at

[1] From "A Collection of the Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Franklin" (Sparks), Boston, 1833, p. 124. — Ed.

length in the London *Chronicle*, with the merchants' letter. When the American affairs came to be debated in the House of Commons, the majority, notwithstanding all the weight of ministerial influence, was only sixty-two for continuing the whole last act; and would not have been so large, nay, I think the repeal would have been carried, but that the ministry were persuaded by Governor Bernard, and some lying letters said to be from Boston, that the associations not to import were all breaking to pieces, that America was in the greatest distress for want of the goods, that we could not possibly subsist any longer without them, and must of course submit to any terms Parliament should think fit to impose upon us. This, with the idle notion of the dignity and sovereignty of Parliament, which they are so fond of, and imagine will be endangered by any further concessions, prevailed, I know, with many, to vote with the ministry, who, otherwise, on account of the commerce, wish to see the difference accommodated.

But, though both the Duke of Grafton and Lord North were and are, in my opinion, rather inclined to satisfy us, yet the Bedford party are so violent against us, and so prevalent in the council, that more moderate measures could not take place. This party never speak of us but with evident malice; "rebels" and "traitors" are the best names they can afford us, and I believe they only wish for a colorable pretence and occasion of ordering the soldiers to make a massacre among us.

On the other hand, the Rockingham and Shelburne people, with Lord Chatham's friends, are disposed to favour us if they were again in power, which at present they are not like to be; though they, too, would be for keeping up the claim

of Parliamentary sovereignty, but without exercising it in any mode of taxation. Besides these, we have for sincere friends and well-wishers the body of Dissenters generally throughout England, with many others, not to mention Ireland and all the rest of Europe, who, from various motives, join in applauding the spirit of liberty, with which we have claimed and insisted on our privileges, and wish us success, but whose suffrage cannot have much weight in our affairs.

The merchants here were at length prevailed on to present a petition, but they moved slowly, and some of them, I thought, reluctantly; perhaps from a despair of success, the city not being much in favour with the court at present. The manufacturing towns absolutely refused to move at all; some pretending to be offended with our attempting to manufacture for ourselves; others saying, that they had employment enough, and that our trade was of little importance to them, whether we continued or refused it. Those, who began a little to feel the effects of our forbearing to purchase, were persuaded to be quiet by the ministerial people, who gave out, that certain advices were received of our beginning to break our agreements; of our attempts to manufacture proving all abortive and ruining the undertakers; of our distress for want of goods, and dissensions among ourselves, which promised the total defeat of all such kind of combinations, and the prevention of them for the future, if the government were not urged imprudently to repeal the duties. But now that it appears from late and authentic accounts, that agreements continue in full force, that a ship is actually returned from Boston to Bristol with nails and glass (articles that were thought of the utmost necessity), and that the ships, which were waiting here for the determination of

Parliament, are actually returning to North America in their ballast, the tone of the manufacturers begins to change, and there is no doubt, that, if we are steady, and persevere in our resolutions, these people will soon begin a clamour, that much pains has hitherto been used to stifle.

In short, it appears to me, that if we do not now persist in this measure till it has had its full effect, it can never again be used on any future occasion with the least prospect of success, and that, if we do persist another year, we shall never afterwards have occasion to use it. With sincere regards, I am, dear Sir, your obedient servant,

B. Franklin.

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522. TO SAMUEL COOPER (B. M.)

London, April 14, 1770.

Dear Sir,

I suppose Govr Pownall acquaints you with what has passed this Session relating to our American Affairs: All Europe is attentive to the Dispute between Britain and the Colonies, & I own I have a Satisfaction in seeing, that our Part is taken Everywhere; because I am persuaded, that that circumstance will not be without its Effect here in our favour. At the same time the malignant Pleasure, which other Powers take in British Divisions, may convince us on both sides of the Necessity of our uniting.

In France they have translated and printed the principal Pieces, that have been written on the American Side of the Question; and, as French is the political Language of Europe, it has communicated an Acquaintance with our Affairs very extensively. M. Beaumont, a famous Advocate

of Paris, the defender of the Family of Calas, wrote the *Reflexions d'un Etranger désintéressé*, which I send you. The manuscript is an original Letter from a Gentleman, (of Note, I am told,) as far off as the Austrian Silesia, who, being concern'd for us, wrote it to the Parliament, directing it to the late Speaker. The Speaker read only the first Side, was offended at the Freedom, and Impertinence, (as he call'd it,) and return'd the Letter to the Office, refusing to pay the Postage. Accept it as a Curiosity. I send you also a late Edition of Molyneux's *Case of Ireland*, with a new Preface, shrewdly written. Our part is warmly taken by the Irish in general, there being in many points a similarity in our cases. My respects to Mr. Bowdoin, and believe me ever, dear Sir, yours affectionately, B. Franklin.

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523. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON[1] (P. C.)

Thursday, May 31, 1770.

Dear Polly,

I receiv'd your Letter early this Morning; and, as I am so engag'd, that I cannot see you when you come to-day, I write this Line just to say, that I am sure you are a much better Judge in this Affair of your own, than I can possibly be.[2] In that Confidence it was, that I forebore giving my Advice when you mention'd it to me, and not from any Disapprobation. My Concern (equal to any Father's) for your Happiness makes me write this, lest, having more Regard for

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — Ed.

[2] Alluding to a proposal from Mr. William Hewson, a physician of London (and partner of Dr. William Hunter), to whom Miss Stevenson was soon afterwards married. — Ed.

my Opinion than you ought, and imagining it against the Proposal because I did not immediately advise accepting it, you should let that weigh any thing in your Deliberations.

I assure you, that no Objection has occur'd to me. His Person you see; his Temper and his Understanding you can judge of; his Character, for any thing I have ever heard, is unblemished; his Profession, with the Skill in it he is suppos'd to have, will be sufficient to support a Family; and, therefore, considering the Fortune you have in your Hands (tho' any future Expectation from your Aunt should be disappointed), I do not see but that the Agreement may be a rational one on both sides.

I see your Delicacy, and your Humility too; for you fancy that if you do not prove a great Fortune, you will not be lov'd; but I am sure that were I in his situation in every respect, knowing you so well as I do, and esteeming you so highly, I should think you a Fortune sufficient for me without a Shilling.

Having thus, more explicitly than before, given my Opinion, I leave the rest to your sound Judgment, of which no one has a greater Share; and I shall not be too inquisitive after your particular Reasons, your Doubts, your Fears, etc. For I shall be confident, whether you accept or refuse, that you do right. I only wish you may do what will most contribute to your Happiness, and of course to mine; being ever, my dear Friend, yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Don't be angry with me for supposing your Determination not quite so fix'd as you fancy it.

524. TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS[1]

London, June 6, 1770.

Dear Cousin,

Your favour of January 8th came duly to hand, but I have been so much engaged during the sitting of Parliament, that I could not correspond regularly with all my friends, and have of course trespassed most with those on whose good nature and indulgence I could most rely. I am, however, ashamed of being so long silent. It was but the other day, that I inquired after the fate of your tickets, when I received the enclosed answer, whereby you will see that the whole cost has not been lost. I only wished to see three ciphers more following the sum. I have not any further orders from you, but think to take at a venture two tickets more on your account. If you disapprove and choose to rest where you are, signify it by a line, before the drawing, directed to Messrs. Smith, Wright, and Grey, who may then dispose of the tickets.

I am glad to hear the old gentleman, your father, is still alive and happy. Please to remember me to him respectfully. Probably he can recollect but little of me, as it is a good deal more than half a century since he has seen me; but I remember him well, a lively, active, handsome young man, with a fine full flowing head of hair. I suppose he must now be near fourscore.

If I could have given you any intimation of the intentions of government with regard to America, that might be

[1] From "A Collection of the Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Franklin" (Sparks), Boston, 1833, p. 129. — Ed.

depended upon, you should have had them in good time for use, in the views of trade you hint at. But there have been this winter such changes of men and of minds, and such continual expectations of more and other changes, that nothing was certain; and I believe that to this day the ministry are not all of a mind, nor determined what are the next steps proper to be taken with us. Some are said to be for severe, others for lenient measures; others for leaving things as they now are, in confidence that we shall soon be tired of our non-importation agreements, manufacturing schemes, and self-denying frugalities, submit to the duties, and return by degrees to our dear luxuries and idleness, with our old course of commercial extravagance, folly, and good humour. Which of these opinions will prevail and be acted on, it is impossible yet to say. I only know, that generally the dispute is thought a dangerous one, and that many wish to see it well compromised in time, lest by a continuance of mutual provocations the breach should become past healing.

I am much obliged to you and cousin Hubbard for your kindness to my friend Hughes, of which he informed me, with many expressions of gratitude for your civilities. He would have been very happy in that station, and in your acquaintance so nigh him; but he is now removed to Carolina.

My love to your good wife and children, and believe me ever your affectionate uncle, B. Franklin.

525. TO SAMUEL COOPER (B. M.)

London, June 8, 1770.

Dear Sir,

I received duly your favour of March 28th. With this I send you two Speeches in Parliament on our Affairs by a Member that you know. The Repeal of the whole late Act would undoubtedly have been a prudent Measure, and I have reason to believe that Lord North was for it, but some of the other Ministers could not be brought to agree to it; so the Duty on Tea, with that obnoxious Preamble, remains to continue the dispute: But I think the next Session will hardly pass over without repealing them; for the Parliament must finally comply with the Sense of the Nation.

As to the Standing Army kept up among us in time of Peace, without the Consent of our Assemblies, I am clearly of Opinion that it is not agreable to the Constitution. Should the King, by the aid of his Parliaments in Ireland and the Colonies, raise an Army, and bring it into England, quartering it here in time of Peace without the Consent of the Parliament of Great Britain, I am persuaded he would soon be told, that he had no Right so to do, and the Nation would ring with Clamours against it. I own, that I see no Difference in the Cases: And while we continue so many distinct and separate States, our having the same Head, or Sovereign, the King, will not justify such an Invasion of the Separate Right of each State to be consulted on the Establishment of whatever Force is proposed to be kept up within its Limits, and to give or refuse its Consent, as shall appear most for the Public Good of that State.

That the Colonies originally were constituted distinct States, and intended to be continued such, is clear to me from a thorough Consideration of their original Charters, and the whole Conduct of the Crown and Nation towards them until the Restoration. Since that Period, the Parliament here has usurp'd an Authority of making Laws for them, which before it had not. We have for some time submitted to that Usurpation, partly through Ignorance and Inattention, and partly from our Weakness and Inability to contend: I hope, when our Rights are better understood here, we shall, by prudent and proper Conduct, be able to obtain from the Equity of this Nation a Restoration of them. And in the mean time, I could wish, that such Expressions as *the Supreme Authority of Parliament; the Subordinacy of our Assemblies to the Parliament*, and the like, (which in Reality mean nothing, if our Assemblies, with the King, have a true Legislative Authority); I say, I could wish that such Expressions were no more seen in our publick Pieces. They are too strong for Compliment, and tend to confirm a Claim of Subjects in one Part of the King's Dominions to be Sovereigns over their Fellow Subjects in another Part of his Dominions, when in truth they have no such Right, and their Claim is founded only in Usurpation, the several States having equal Rights and Liberties, and being only connected, as England and Scotland were before the Union, by having one common Sovereign, the King.

This kind of Doctrine the Lords and Commons here would deem little less than Treason against what they think their Share of the Sovereignty over the Colonies. To me those Bodies seem to have been long encroaching on the Rights of their and our Sovereign, assuming too much of his Au-

thority, and betraying his Interests. By our Constitution he is, with his plantation Parliaments, the sole Legislator of his American Subjects, and in that Capacity is, and ought to be, free to exercise his own Judgment, unrestrained and unlimited by his Parliament here. And our Parliaments have right to grant him Aids without the Consent of this Parliament, a Circumstance, which, by the way, begins to give it some Jealousy. Let us, therefore, hold fast our Loyalty to our King, who has the best Disposition towards us, and has a Family Interest in our Prosperity; as that steady Loyalty is the most probable means of securing us from the arbitrary Power of a corrupt Parliament, that does not like us, and conceives itself to have an Interest in keeping us down and fleecing us.

If they should urge the *inconvenience* of an empire's being divided into so many separate States, and from thence conclude, that we are not so divided, I would answer, that an Inconvenience proves nothing but itself. England and Scotland were once separate States, under the same King. The Inconvenience found in their being separate States did not prove, that the Parliament of England had a right to govern Scotland. A formal Union was thought necessary, and England was a hundred Years soliciting it, before she could bring it about. If Great Britain now think such a Union necessary with us, let her propose her Terms, and we may consider them. Were the general Sentiments of this Nation to be consulted in the Case, I should hope the Terms, whether practicable or not, would at least be equitable; for I think, that, except among those with whom the spirit of Toryism prevails, the popular Inclination here is, to wish us well, and that we may preserve our Liberties.

I unbosom myself thus to you, in Confidence of your Prudence, and wishing to have your Sentiments on the Subject in return.

Mr. Pownall, I suppose, will acquaint you with the Event of his Motions, and therefore I say nothing more of them, than that he appears very sincere in his Endeavours to serve us; on which Account, I some time since republished with Pleasure the parting Addresses to him of your Assembly, with some previous Remarks to his Honour, as well as in Justification of our People.

I hope, that before this time those detestable Murderers have quitted your Province, and that the Spirit of Industry and Frugality continues and increases. With sincerest Esteem and Affection, I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient & most humble servant

B. Franklin.

P. S. Just before the last Session of Parliament commenced, a Friend of mine, who had Connection with some of the Ministry, wrote me a Letter purposely to draw from me my Sentiments in writing on the then State of Affairs. I wrote a pretty free Answer which I know was immediately communicated, and a good deal handed about among them. For your private Amusement I send you Copies. I wish you may be able to read them, as they are very badly written by a blundering clerk.[1]

[1] These papers were Mr. Strahan's *Queries* respecting American affairs, and Dr. Franklin's answers to them. — Ed.

526. TO SAMUEL FRANKLIN[1]

London, June 8, 1770.

Loving Cousin,

I received your kind letter of the 23d of March. I was happy to find that neither you, nor any of your family, were in the way of those murderers.[2] I hope that before this time the town is quite freed from such dangerous and mischievous inmates.

I rejoice to hear that you and your good wife and children continue in health. My love to them. I still enjoy a considerable share of that blessing, thanks to God, and hope once more to see Boston and my friends there before I die. I left it first in 1723. I made a visit there in 1733; another in 1743; another in 1753; another in 1763. Perhaps if I live to 1773, I may then call again and take my leave.

Our relation, Sally Franklin,[3] is still with me here, is a very good girl, and grown up almost a woman. She sends her love to you and yours. I am, with sincere regard, your affectionate cousin, B. Franklin.

[1] From "A Collection of the Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Franklin" (Sparks), Boston, 1833, p. 132. — Ed.

[2] Alluding to the tragical scene in the streets of Boston on the 5th of March commonly called the *Massacre*, when Captain Preston's troops fired upon the inhabitants, and killed three persons. — S.

[3] Sally Franklin, at this time fifteen years old, was a great granddaughter of John Franklin, uncle of Benjamin Franklin. — Ed.

527. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, June 10. 1770

My dear Child,

I received your kind Letters of March 12 and April 24. I think you are the most punctual of all my Correspondents; and it is often a particular Satisfaction to me to hear from you, when I have no Letter from any one else. I did by Capt. Falconer answer Sally's Letter about her Son's being inoculated, and told her Sir John Pringle's Opinion as to the Probability of his not having the SmallPox hereafter. I think he advised, as no Eruption appeared, to make sure of the thing by inoculating him again. I rejoice much in the Pleasure you appear to take in him. It must be of Use to your Health, the having such an Amusement. My Love to him, and to his Father and Mother.

Capt. Ourry is gone abroad as a travelling Tutor to Lord Galway's Son; Mrs. Strahan is at Bath; Mr. Strahan and Children, Mr. and Mrs. West and their Son, are all well at present; tho' Mr. West himself has had a long Illness. They always enquire after you & I present your Compliments. Poor Nanny was drawn in to marry a worthless Fellow, who got all her Money, and then ran away and left her. So she is return'd to her old Service with Mrs. Stevenson, poorer than ever, but seems pretty patient, only looks dejected, sighs sometimes, and wishes she had never left Philadelphia. Mr. Montgomery died at sea, as we have lately heard and Mrs. Montgomery, who has lain in at Lisbon, will return from thence with her Boy to Philadelphia.

As to myself, I had from Christmas till Easter, a disagreable Giddiness hanging about me, which however did not hinder me from being about and doing Business. In the Easter Holidays being at a Friend's House in the Country, I was taken with a sore Throat, and came home half strangled. From Monday till Friday, I could swallow nothing but Barley Water and the like. I was bled largely, and purged two or three times. On Friday came on a Fit of the Gout, from which I had been free Five Years. Immediately the Inflammation and Swelling in my Throat disappeared; my Foot swelled greatly, and I was confined about three Weeks; since which I am perfectly well, the Giddiness and every other disagreable Symptom having quite left me. I hope your Health is likewise by this time quite reëstablished; being as ever, my dear Child, your affectionate Husband,

B. Franklin.

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528. TO SAMUEL RHOADS (P. H. S.)

London, June 26, 1770

Dear Friend,

It is a long time since I had the Pleasure of hearing from you directly. M^rs^. Franklin has indeed now and then acquainted me of your Welfare, which I am always glad to hear of. It is, I fear, partly, if not altogether, my Fault that our Correspondence has not been regularly continued. One thing only I am sure of; that it has been from no want of Regard on either side, but rather from too much Business and Avocations of various kinds, and my having little of Importance to communicate.

One of our good Citizens, Mr Hillegas, anxious for the future Safety of our Town, wrote to me some time since, desiring I would enquire concerning the Covering of Houses here with Copper. I sent him the best Information I could then obtain;[1] but have since receiv'd the enclos'd from an ingenious friend, Mr Wooller, who is what they call here a Civil Engineer. I should be glad you would peruse it, think of the matter a little, and give me your Sentiments of it. When you have done with the Paper, please to give it to Mr Hillegas. I am told by Lord Despencer, who has covered a long Piazza or Gallery with Copper, that the Expence is charged in this Account too high; for his cost but 1/10 per foot, all Charges included. I suppose his Copper must have been thinner. And indeed it is so strong a Metal, that I think it may well be used very thin.

It appears to me of great Importance to build our Dwelling-Houses, if we can, in a Manner more secure from Danger by Fire. We scarce ever hear of a Fire in Paris. When I was there, I took particular Notice of the Construction of their Houses; and I did not see how one of them could well be burnt. The Roofs are Slate or Tile; the Walls are Stone; the Rooms generally lin'd with Stucco or Plaister instead of Wainscot; the Floors of Stucco, or of sixsquare Tiles painted brown; or of Flag Stone, or Marble; if any Floor were of Wood, it was Oak Wood, which is not so inflammable as Pine. Carpets prevent the Coldness of Stone or Brick Floors offending the Feet in Winter, and the Noise of Treading on such Floors overhead, is less inconvenient than on Boards.

[1] See letter to Hillegas, March 17, 1770. Samuel Rhoads (1711–1784) was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, Mayor of Philadelphia, and one of the founders of the Pennsylvania Hospital.— ED.

The Stairs too, at Paris, are either Stone or Brick with only a Wooden Edge or Corner for the Step; so that on the Whole, tho' the Parisians commonly burn Wood in their Chimneys, a more dangerous kind of Fuel than that used here, ye. their Houses escape extreamly well, as there is little in a Room that can be consumed by Fire, except the Furniture. Whereas in London, perhaps scarce a Year passes in which half a Million of Property and many Lives are not lost by this destructive Element. Of late indeed they begin here to leave off Wainscotting their Rooms, and instead of it cover the Walls with Stucco, often form'd into Pannels like Wainscot, which, being painted, is very strong and warm: Stone Staircases too, with Iron Rails, grow more and more into Fashion here: But Stone Steps cannot in some Circumstances, be fixed; and there methinks Oak is safer than Pine; and I assure you that in many genteel Houses here, both old & new, the Stairs and Floors are Oak, and look extreamly well. Perhaps solid Oak for the Steps would be still safer than Boards; and two Steps might be cut diagonally out of one Piece.

Excuse my talking to you on a Subject with which you must be so much better acquainted than I am. It is partly to make out a Letter for renewing our Correspondence, and partly in hope that by turning your Attention to the Point, some Methods of greater Security in our future Building may be thought of & promoted by you, whose Judgment I know has deservedly great Weight with our Fellow-Citizens. For tho' our Town has not hitherto suffered very greatly by Fire, yet I am apprehensive, that some time or other, by a Concurrence of unlucky Circumstances, such as dry Weather, hard Frost, & high Winds, a Fire then happening may suddenly spread far and wide over our Cedar Roofs, and

do us immense Mischief. If you favour me with a Line, let me know how good Mrs Rhoads does, and every one of your Children; and how it fares with my dear old Friend Mrs Paschal. With sincere Esteem, I am

Yours most affectionately,

B. Franklin

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529. TO MRS. MARY HEWSON[1] (P. C.)

London, July 24, 1770.

Dear Polly,

I wrote a few lines to you last Week, in answer to yours of the 15th, since which I have been in the Country; and, returning yesterday, found your good Mother was come home, and had got a Letter from you of the 20th. She has just put it into my hands, and desires me to write to you, as she is going into the City with Miss Barwell to buy things. Whether she will have time to write herself I cannot say, or whether, if she had, she would get over her natural Aversion to writing. I rather think she will content herself with your knowing what she should say, and would say, if she wrote; and with my letting you know, that she is well, and very happy in hearing that you are so.

Your Friends are all much pleas'd with your account of the agreable Family, their kind Reception and Entertainment of you, and the Respect shown you. Only Dolly and I, tho' we rejoice and shall do so in every thing that contributes to your Happiness, are now and then in low Spirits, supposing we have lost each a Friend. Barwell says she conceives nothing of this; and that we must be two Simpletons to enter-

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — Ed.

tain such Imaginations. I showed her your Letter to your Mother, wherein you say, "Dolly is a naughty Girl, and, if she does not mend, I shall turn her off; for I have got another Dolly now, and a very good Dolly too." She begg'd me not to communicate this to Dolly, for tho' said in jest, yet, in her present State of mind, it would hurt her. I suppose that it was for the same good-natur'd Reason, that she refus'd to show me a Paragraph of your Letter to Dolly, that had been communicated by Dolly to her.

July 25. The above was written yesterday, but, being interrupted, I could not finish my Letter in time for the Post; tho' I find I had little to add. Your Mother desires me to express abundance of Affection for you, and to Mr. Hewson; and to say all the proper Things for her, with respect to the rest of your Friends there. But you can imagine better than I can write. Sally and little Temple [1] join in best Wishes of Prosperity to you both. Make my sincere Respects acceptable to Mr. Hewson, whom, exclusive of his other Merits, I shall always esteem in proportion to the Regard he manifests for you. Barwell tells me, that your Aunt had receiv'd his Letter, and was highly pleas'd with it and him; so I hope all will go well there; and I shall take every Opportunity of cultivating her good Dispositions, in which I think you us'd to be sometimes a little backward, but you always had your Reasons.

I am apt to love everybody that loves you, and therefore I suppose I shall in time love your new Mother, and new Sister, and your new Dolly. I find I begin to like them already, and, if you think proper, you may tell them so. But

[1] William Temple Franklin, son of William Franklin, Governor of New Jersey. — Ed.

your old Dolly and I have agreed to love each other better than ever we did, to make up as much as we can our suppos'd Loss of you. We like your Assurances of continued Friendship, unimpair'd by your Change of Condition, and we believe you think as you write; but we fancy we know better than you. You know I once knew your Heart better than you did yourself. As a Proof that I am right, take notice, — that *you now think this the silliest Letter I ever wrote to you, and that Mr. Hewson confirms you in that Opinion.*

However, I am still what I have been so many Years, my dear good Girl, your sincerely affectionate Friend and Servant,

B. Franklin.

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530. TO REV. JOHN EWING [1] (P. C.)

London, Aug[t] 27. 1770.

Rev[D] Sir,

I received your Favour of June 14, with several Copies of your Observations of the Transit of Venus, for which I thank you. I have sent one of them to M[r] Maskelyne as you desired, with an Extract from your Letter, and another to Paris, — I have not yet obtain'd from him the Estimate he promis'd me, but hope to have it soon; tho' by what I hear from others I begin to fear the Expense will be thought too heavy for us. I shall send the new Volume of the Transactions to M[rs] Franklin, where you will find what Observa-

[1] From the private collection of Mr. William F. Havemeyer. John Ewing (1732–1802), astronomer and theologian, was provost of The University of Pennsylvania (1779–1802). — Ed.

tions have been received and published here. — I am, very respectfully,

Reverend Sir,
Your most obedient
humble Servant
B. Franklin.

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531. TO CADWALLADER EVANS[1]

London, August 27, 1770.

Dear Doctor,

I am favoured with yours of June 10th. With this I send you our last volume of Philosophical Transactions, wherein you will see printed the Observations of Messrs. Biddle and Bayley on the Transit, as well as those of Messrs. Mason and Dixon relating to the longitude of places. When you and your friends have perused it, please to deliver it to Mrs. Franklin to be put among my books.

Thanks for the books on the silk affair. It will give me great pleasure to see that business brought to perfection among us. The subscription is a noble one, and does great honour to our public spirit. If you should not procure from Georgia, as you expected, one that understands the reeling, I believe I can procure you such a hand from Italy, a great silk merchant here having offered me his assistance for that purpose, if wanted.

I am happy beyond expression to see the virtue and firmness of our country, with regard to the non-importation. It does us great honour. And New York is in great disgrace with all the friends of liberty in the kingdom, who are, I

[1] Printed from Sparks.

assure you, no contemptible number, and who applaud the stand we have made, and wish us success. I am, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

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532. THE CRAVEN-STREET GAZETTE (A. P. S.)

Saturday, September 22, 1770.

THIS morning Queen Margaret, accompanied by her first maid of honour, Miss Franklin, set out for Rochester. Immediately on their departure, the whole street was in tears — from a heavy shower of rain. It is whispered, that the new family administration, which took place on her Majesty's departure, promises, like all other new administrations, to govern much better than the old one.

We hear, that the great person (so called from his enormous size), of a certain family in a certain street, is grievously affected at the late changes, and could hardly be comforted this morning, though the new ministry promised him a roasted shoulder of mutton and potatoes for his dinner.

It is said, that the same great person intended to pay his respects to another great personage this day, at St. James's, it being coronation-day; hoping thereby a little to amuse his grief; but was prevented by an accident, Queen Margaret, or her maid of honour, having carried off the key of the drawers, so that the lady of the bed-chamber could not come at a laced shirt for his Highness. Great clamours were made on this occasion against her Majesty.

Other accounts say, that the shirts were afterwards found, though too late, in another place. And some suspect, that

the wanting a shirt from those drawers was only a ministerial pretence to excuse picking the locks, that the new administration might have every thing at command.

We hear that the lady chamberlain of the household went to market this morning by her own self, gave the butcher whatever he asked for the mutton, and had no dispute with the potato-woman, to their great amazement at the change of times.

It is confidently asserted, that this afternoon, the weather being wet, the great person a little chilly and nobody at home to find fault with the expense of fuel, he was indulged with a fire in his chamber. It seems the design is, to make him contented by degrees with the absence of the Queen.

A project has been under consideration of government, to take the opportunity of her Majesty's absence for doing a thing she was always averse to, namely, fixing a new lock on the street door, or getting a key made to the old one; it being found extremely inconvenient, that one or other of the great officers of state should, whenever the maid goes out for a ha'penny worth of sand, or a pint of porter, be obliged to attend the door to let her in again. But opinions being divided, which of the two expedients to adopt, the project is, for the present, laid aside.

We have good authority to assure our readers, that a Cabinet Council was held this afternoon at tea; the subject of which was a proposal for the reformation of manners, and a more strict observation of the Lord's day. The result was a unanimous resolution, that no meat should be dressed tomorrow; whereby the cook and the first minister will both be at liberty to go to church, the one having nothing to do, and the other no roast to rule. It seems the cold shoulder of

mutton, and the apple-pie, were thought sufficient for Sunday's dinner. All pious people applaud this measure, and it is thought the new ministry will soon become popular.

We hear that Mr. Wilkes was at a certain house in Craven Street this day, and inquired after the absent Queen. His good lady and the children are well.

The report, that Mr. Wilkes, the patriot, made the above visit, is without foundation, it being his brother, the courtier.

Sunday, September 23.

It is now found by sad experience, that good resolutions are easier made than executed. Notwithstanding yesterday's solemn order of Council, nobody went to church to-day. It seems the great person's broad-built bulk lay so long abed, that the breakfast was not over till it was too late to dress. At least this is the excuse. In fine, it seems a vain thing to hope reformation from the example of our great folks.

The cook and the minister, however, both took advantage of the order so far, as to save themselves all trouble, and the clause of cold dinner was enforced, though the going to church was dispensed with; just as common working folks observe the commandments. *The seventh day thou shalt rest*, they think a sacred injunction; but the other *six days thou shalt labour* is deemed a mere piece of advice, which they may practise when they want bread and are out of credit at the alehouse, and may neglect whenever they have money in their pockets.

It must, nevertheless, be said, in justice to our court, that, whatever inclination they had to gaming, no cards were brought out to-day. Lord and Lady Hewson walked after dinner to Kensington, to pay their duty to the Dowager, and

Dr. Fatsides made four hundred and sixty-nine turns in his dining-room, as the exact distance of a visit to the lovely Lady Barwell, whom he did not find at home; so there was no struggle for and against a kiss, and he sat down to dream in the easy-chair, that he had it without any trouble.

Monday, September 24.

We are credibly informed, that the great person dined this day with the Club at the Cat and Bagpipes in the City, on cold round of boiled beef. This, it seems, he was under some necessity of doing (though he rather dislikes beef), because truly the ministers were to be all abroad somewhere to dine on hot roast venison. It is thought, that, if the Queen had been at home, he would not have been so slighted. And though he shows outwardly no marks of dissatisfaction, it is suspected, that he begins to wish for her Majesty's return.

It is currently reported, that poor Nanny had nothing for dinner in the kitchen, for herself and puss, but the scrapings of the bones of Saturday's mutton.

This evening there was high play at Craven Street House. The great person lost money. It is supposed the ministers, as is usually supposed of all ministers, shared the emoluments among them.

Tuesday, Sept. 25.

This Morning my good Lord Hutton call'd at Craven-Street House, and enquir'd very respectfully & affectionately concerning the Welfare of the Queen. He then imparted to the big Man a Piece of Intelligence important to them both, and but just communicated by Lady Hawkesworth, viz. that the amiable and delectable Companion, Miss D[orothea] B[lount], had made a Vow to marry absolutely him of the

two whose Wife should first depart this Life. It is impossible to express the various Agitations of Mind appearing in both their Faces on this Occasion. *Vanity* at the Preference given them over the rest of Mankind; *Affection* to their present Wives, *Fear* of losing them, *Hope*, if they must lose them, to obtain the proposed Comfort; *Jealousy* of each other in case both Wives should die together, &c. &c. &c., — all working at the same time jumbled their Features into inexplicable Confusion. They parted at length with Professions & outward Appearances indeed of ever-during Friendship, but it was shrewdly suspected that each of them sincerely wished Health & long Life to the other's Wife; & that however long either of these Friends might like to live himself, the other would be very well pleas'd to survive him.

It is remark'd, that the Skies have wept every Day in Craven Street, the Absence of the Queen.

The Publick may be assured that this Morning a certain *great* Personage was asked very complaisantly by the Mistress of the Household, if he would chuse to have the Blade-Bone of Saturday's Mutton that had been kept for his Dinner to-day, *broil'd* or *cold*. He answer'd gravely, *If there is any Flesh on it, it may be broil'd; if not, it may as well be cold.* Orders were accordingly given for Broiling it. But when it came to Table, there was indeed so very little Flesh, or rather none, (Puss having din'd on it yesterday after Nanny) that if our new Administration had been as good Oeconomists as they would be thought, the Expence of Broiling might well have been saved to the Publick, and carried to the Sinking Fund. It is assured the *great* Person bears all with infinite Patience. But the Nation is astonish'd at the insolent Presumption, that dares treat so much Mildness in so cruel a manner!

A terrible Accident *had like to have* happened this Afternoon at Tea. The Boiler was set too near the End of the little square Table. The first Ministress was sitting at one End of the Table to administer the Tea; the *great* Person was about to sit down at the other End where the Boiler stood. By a sudden Motion the Lady gave the Table a Tilt. Had it gone over, the G. P. must have been scalded, perhaps to Death. Various are the Surmises and Observations on this Occasion. The Godly say it would have been a just Judgment on him, for preventing, by his Laziness, the Family's going to Church last Sunday. The Opposition do not stick to insinuate that there was a Design to scald him, prevented only by his quick Catching the Table. The Friends of the Ministry give it out, that he carelessly jogg'd the Table himself, & would have been inevitably scalded, had not the Ministress sav'd him. It is hard for the Publick to come at the Truth in these Cases.

At six o'Clock this Afternoon, News came by the Post, that her Majesty arrived safely at Rochester on Saturday Night. The Bells immediately rang, — for Candles to illuminate the Parlour, the Court went into Cribbidge, and the Evening concluded with every other Demonstration of Joy.

It is reported that all the principal Officers of the State have received an Invitation from the Dutchess Dowager of Rochester to go down thither on Saturday next. But it is not yet known whether the great Affairs they have on their Hands will permit them to make this Excursion.

We hear that from the Time of her Majesty's leaving Craven-Street House to this Day, no Care is taken to file the Newspapers; but they lie about in every Room in every Window, and on every Chair, just where the Great Person

lays them when he reads them. It is impossible Government can long go on in such Hands.

"TO THE PUBLISHER OF THE CRAVEN-STREET GAZETTE.

"SIR,

"I make no doubt of the Truth of what the Papers tell us, that a certain great Person is half-starved on the Blade-Bone of a *Sheep* (I cannot call it of *Mutton*, there being none on it) by a Set of the most careless, worthless, thoughtless, inconsiderate, corrupt, ignorant, blundering, foolish, crafty, & knavish Ministers, that ever got into a House and pretended to govern a Family and provide a Dinner. Alas for the poor old England of Craven Street! If they continue in Power another Week, the Nation will be ruined. Undone, totally undone, if I and my Friends are not appointed to succeed them. I am a great Admirer of your useful and impartial Paper; and therefore request you will insert this without fail, from

"Your humble Servant,

"INDIGNATION."

"TO THE PUBLISHER OF THE CRAVEN-STREET GAZETTE.

"SIR,

"Your Correspondent, *Indignation*, has made a fine Story in your Paper against our Craven Street Ministry, as if they meant to starve his Highness, giving him only a bare Blade-Bone for his Dinner, while they riot upon roast Venison. The Wickedness of Writers in this Age is truly amazing. I believe that if even the Angel Gabriel would condescend to be our Minister, and provide our Dinners, he could scarcely

escape Newspaper Defamation from a Gang of hungry, ever-restless, discontented, and malicious Scribblers.

"It is, Sir, a Piece of Justice you owe our righteous Administration to undeceive the Publick on this Occasion, by assuring them of the Fact, which is, that there was provided, and actually smoaking on the Table under his Royal Nose at the same Instant, as fine a Piece of Ribs of Beef roasted as ever Knife was put into, with Potatoes, Horse-radish, Pickled Walnuts, &c. which his Highness might have eaten of if so he had pleased to do; and which he forbore to do merely from a whimsical Opinion (with Respect be it spoken) that Beef doth not with him perspire well, but makes his Back itch, to his no small Vexation, now that he has lost the little Chinese ivory Hand at the End of a Stick, commonly called a Scratch back, presented to him by her Majesty. This is the Truth, and if your boasted Impartiality is real, you will not hesitate a Moment to insert this Letter in your next Paper.

"I am, tho' a little angry at present,

"Yours as you behave,

"A Hater of Scandal."

Junius and *Cinna* came to hand too late for this Paper, but shall be inserted in our next.

Marriages, none since our last; — but Puss begins to go a Courting.

Deaths. In the back Closet and elsewhere, many poor Mice.

Stocks. Biscuit — very low. Buckwheat & Indian Meal — both sour. Tea, lowering daily — in the Canister. Wine, shut.

Wednesday, September 26th. Postscript. — Those in the Secret of Affairs do not scruple to assert roundly, that our present First Ministress is very notable, having this Day been at Market, bought Mutton-Chops, and Apples 4 a Penny, made an excellent Applepy with her own Hands, and mended two Pair of Breeches.

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533. TO BARBEU DUBOURG[1]

London, October 2, 1770

I SEE with pleasure, that we think pretty much alike on the subject of English America. We of the colonies have never insisted, that we ought to be exempt from contributing to the common expenses necessary to support the prosperity of the empire. We only assert, that, having Parliaments of our own, and not having representatives in that of Great Britain, our Parliaments are the only judges of what we can and what we ought to contribute in this case; and that the English Parliament has no right to take our money without our consent. In fact, the British empire is not a single state; it comprehends many; and, though the Parliament of Great Britain has arrogated to itself the power of taxing the colonies, it has no more right to do so, than it has to tax Hanover. We have the same King, but not the same legislatures.

The dispute between the two countries has already lost England many millions sterling, which it has lost in its commerce, and America has in this respect been a proportionable

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), Phila., 1817, Vol. VI, p. 289. — ED.

gainer. This commerce consisted principally of superfluities; objects of luxury and fashion, which we can well do without; and the resolution we have formed of importing no more, till our grievances are redressed, has enabled many of our infant manufactures to take root; and it will not be easy to make our people abandon them in future, even should a connexion more cordial than ever succeed the present troubles. I have, indeed, no doubt that the Parliament of England will finally abandon its present pretensions, and leave us to the peaceable enjoyment of our rights and privileges.

B. Franklin.

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534. TO DU PONT DE NEMOURS[1] (P. C.)

London, Oct. 2, 1770.

Dear Sir,

I received with great Pleasure the Assurances of your kind Remembrance of me, and the Continuance of your Good will towards me, in your Letter by M. le Comte Chreptowitz. I should have been happy to have rendered him every Civility and Mark of Respect in my Power (as the Friend of those I so much respect and honour) if he had given me the Opportunity: But he did not let me see him.

Accept my sincere Acknowledgements and Thanks for the valuable Present you made me of your excellent Work on the Commerce of the India Company, which I have perused with much Pleasure and Instruction. It bears throughout the stamp of your Masterly Hand, in Method, Perspicuity, & Force of Argument. The honourable Mention you have made in it of your Friend is extremely obliging. I was

[1] From the original in the possession of Colonel H. A. Du Pont. — Ed.

already too much in your Debt for Favours of that kind.

I purpose returning to America in the ensuing Summer, if our Disputes should be adjusted, as I hope they will be in the next Session of Parliament. Would to God I could take with me Messrs. du Pont, du Bourg, and some other French Friends with their good Ladies! I might then, by mixing them with my Friends in Philadelphia, form a little happy Society that would prevent my ever wishing again to visit Europe.

With great and sincere Esteem and Respect, I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient
& most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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535. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, Oct. 3, 1770

MY DEAR CHILD,

I received your kind Letter of Aug. 16, which gave me a great deal of Satisfaction. I am glad your little Grandson recovered so sŏon of his Illness, as I see you are quite in Love with him, and your Happiness wrapt up in his; since your whole long Letter is made up of the History of his pretty Actions. It was very prudently done of you not to interfere when his Mother thought fit to correct him; which pleases me the more, as I feared, from your Fondness of him, that he would be too much humoured, and perhaps spoiled. There is a story of two little Boys in the Street; one was crying bitterly; the other came to him to ask what was the Matter? I have been, says he, "for a pennyworth of Vinegar,

and I have broke the Glass, and spilt the Vinegar, and my Mother will whip me." No, she won't whip you, says the other. Indeed, she will, says he. *What*, says the other, *have you then got ne'er a Grandmother?*

I am sorry I did not send one of my Books to Mr. Rhodes, since he was desirous of seeing it. My Love to him, and to all enquiring Friends. Mrs. West was here to-day, and desired me to mention her Love to you. Mr. Strahan and Family are all well, always enquire how you all do, & send their Love. Mrs. Stevenson is at present in the Country. But Polly sends her Love to you, and Mrs. Bache, & the young Gentleman. I am, as ever, your affectionate Husband,

B. Franklin.

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536. TO THOMAS CUSHING[1]

London, December 24, 1770.

Sir,

Your favour of October 31st came to hand a few days since, with the vote of the House of Representatives appointing me their agent here, which, as it was unsolicited on my part, I esteem the greater honour; and shall be very happy, if I can, in that capacity, render my country any acceptable service.

I have also just received your letter, of November 6th, containing an account of the state and circumstances of the province, and the grievances it labours under, with sundry depositions and other papers. Another of November 17th,

[1] First published by Sparks. Mr. Cushing was Speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly, and in this capacity corresponded with Dr. Franklin during his agency for that colony in England. — S.

with a pamphlet, entitled, the "Proceedings of Council," &c.; another of November 23d, containing an order on Mr. De Berdt for papers. I can at present only say, that I shall immediately endeavour to make myself master of the business committed to my care, that so, when the Parliament and public boards, which are now adjourned for a month, shall meet again, I may be ready to proceed, in such manner, as, on conferring with Mr. Bollan, shall appear advisable for obtaining redress of the grievances so justly complained of.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, from good authority, that the project formed by the enemies of the province, for bringing into Parliament a bill to abridge our charter rights, though at first it received some countenance, and great pains were taken to recommend it, is now laid aside. I do not presume to suppose, that the opposition I gave to it, (by showing the imprudence of the measure, and declaring openly my opinion on all occasions, that, the charter being a compact between the King and the people of the colony who were *out of the realm* of Great Britain, there existed nowhere on earth a power to alter it, while its terms were complied with, without the consent *of* BOTH *the contracting parties*,) had any weight on the occasion. I rather think, that a disposition prevails of late to be on good terms with the colonies, especially as we seem to be on the eve of a war with Spain; and that, in consequence of that disposition, which I hope we shall cultivate, more attention has been paid to the sober advice of our friends, and less to the virulent instigations of our enemies.

I beg you will present my dutiful respects to the House of Representatives, and assure them of my most faithful endeavours in their service. With great esteem and regard, I have the honour to be, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

537. TO SAMUEL COOPER (B. M.)

London, Decem. 30, 1770

DEAR SIR: —

I duly received your several Favours of July 12, Nov. 6, and 15, and am glad that my little Communications afforded you any Pleasure. I join with you most cordially in Wishes of a perfect happy Union between Great Britain and the Colonies. This is only to be expected from Principles of Justice and Equity on both sides, which we must endeavour to cultivate. I think there is now a Disposition here to treat us more equitably, and I hope it will increase and prevail.

I esteem the Appointment to the Agency of your Province, unexpected and unsolicited by me, as one of the greatest Honours for which I must think myself indebted to your Friendship. I wish I may be able to do my Country effectual Service; nothing could make me more happy. I shall however, use my most faithful Endeavours. I had, before I heard of this Appointment, openly opposed the Project of abridging our Charter Privileges, which some of our Adversaries were extremely busy in; designing to do it by an act of Parliament; a Bill for the purpose being, as I have heard, actually drawn ready to be brought in. I boldly and openly asserted that Parliament had no such power; and that an Attempt of that kind would, by alarming all America, raise a new Flame there, & tend more to loosen the Connections now subsisting, than any step that had yet been taken. I do not know that the freedom I use in declaring and publishing these Sentiments had much Effect; I rather think the Apprehension of an approaching War inclin'd Government to milder

Measures, and to hearken less to the mad Projects of our Adversaries. So it is, however, that the Scheme has been laid aside, and will, I think, hardly be resumed, tho' the Expectation of War is much lessened.

It makes me happy to learn that my Ideas on a certain subject appeared just to you and your Friends. I have now in hand a piece (intended for the publick at a convenient Time) [1] which I hope will satisfy many others even on this side the Water, that every lady of Genoa is not a Queen of Corsica. Just at this Juncture here, perhaps 'tis more prudent to be quiet, to stir no new questions, to let heats abate; and when men are cooler, Reason may be better heard. I think I shall send my Manuscript to America for the Perusal and Correction of my Friends and for their Advice on the Expediency of its being published, before I venture it into the World. You I hope will give me leave to trouble you with it, as it seems to me a Question of great Importance to us all.

You have given, in a little Compass, so full and comprehensive a View of the Circumstances on which is founded the Security Britain has for all reasonable Advantages from us, tho' things were put into the same State in which they were before the Stamp Act, that I cannot refrain communicating an Extract of your Letter, where I think it may be of Use; and I think I shall publish it.

There is no doubt of an Intention here to make all our Governors independent of the People for their Support, as fast as the American Duties will bear the Expense. In this Point I think all Parties are against us: And nothing appears to them more unreasonable than that we should wish to have our Governors under such Influence, when the King

[1] "Probably the 'Plan for Benefiting Distant Unprovided Countries.'" — B.

himself, as they say, is always made independent of the Parliament here, in that Respect, by a fixed Civil List Revenue. I have endeavoured to show the Injustice of taxing those Colonies (who have always supported their own Government) for the support of other Governments in which they have no Interest, and the great Difference between a Prince, — whose Welfare and that of his Family is intimately connected with the Prosperity of the Nation, — and a governor who comes from another Country to make Money, and intends to return to the Place whence he came, where he will not hear the Complaints and Curses of those he has oppress'd and plunder'd, nor his Children be less respected or fare the worse for the Malfeasance of their Father. But it is so sweet a thing to have the Giving of Places of great and sure Profit to Friends and Favorites; and the prospect of doing it out of other Revenues than those of this Nation, at which Parliament is therefore less likely to take Umbrage, is so tempting, that I think scarce anything said or to be said here will avail much towards discouraging the project. There is indeed one Thing (if that is in their power), — the refraining absolutely from the Use of all Commodities subject to the Duty. The Deficiency of the Revenue to pay the Salaries, and those to be made good by the Treasury here, might possibly put some Check to the Career. And if the Assemblies should at the same time decline giving any more annual Supports, and leave all Governors to their Appointments out of the Revenue, giving bountifully to a good Governor at the End of his Administration, and leaving bad ones to be rewarded by their Masters; perhaps by this means some of that Influence with Governors might be retained, which induces them to treat the People with Equity and Moderation. But if our People will,

by consuming such Commodities, purchase and pay for their Fetters, who that sees them so shackled, will think they deserve either Redress or Pity. Methinks that in drinking Tea, a true American, reflecting that by every Cup he contributed to the Salaries, Pensions, and Rewards of the Enemies and Persecutors of his Country, would be half choak'd at the Thought, and find no Quantity of Sugar sufficient to make the nauseous Draught go down.

I hope your Health is restored, and that your valuable Life will be long continued, for the Benefit of your Friends, Family, and Country.

With sincere and great Esteem, I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate and most obedient Servant

B. FRANKLIN.

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538. TO MRS. JANE MECOM (B. M.)

London, Dec. 30, 1770.

DEAR SISTER,

This Ship, staying longer than was expected, gives me an Opportunity of writing to you, which I thought I must have missed when I desired Cousin Williams to excuse me to you. I receiv'd your kind Letter of September 25th, by the young Gentlemen, who, by their discreet Behaviour have recommended themselves very much to me and many of my Acquaintance. Josiah has attained his Heart's Desire, of being under the Tuition of Mr. Stanley, who, though he had long left off Teaching, kindly undertook, at my Request, to instruct him, and is much pleased with his Quickness of apprehension and the Progress he makes; and Jonathan appears a very valuable young Man, sober, regular, and inclin'd to

Industry and Frugality, which are promising Signs of Success in business. I am very happy in their Company.

As to the Rumor you mention, (which was, as Josiah tells me, that I had been deprived of my Place in the PostOffice on account of a Letter I wrote to Philadelphia,) it might have this Foundation, that some of the Ministry had been displeased on my writing such Letters, and there were really some Thoughts among them of showing that Displeasure in that manner. But I had some Friends, too, who, unrequired by me, advis'd the Contrary. And my Enemies were forced to content themselves with abusing me plentifully in the Newspapers, and endeavouring to provoke me to resign. In this they are not likely to succeed, I being deficient in that Christian Virtue of Resignation. If they would have my Office, they must take it.

I have heard of some great Man, whose Rule it was, with regard to Offices, *never to ask for them, and never to refuse them;* to which I have always added, in my own Practice, *never to resign them.* As I told my Friends, I rose to that Office through a long Course of Service in the inferior Degrees of it. Before my Time, through bad Management, it never produced the Salary annex'd to it; and, when I received it, no Salary was to be allowed, if the Office did not produce it. During the first four Years it was so far from defraying itself, that it became nine hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling in Debt to me and my Colleague. I had been chiefly instrumental in bringing it to its present flourishing State, and therefore thought I had some kind of Right to it. I had hitherto executed the Duties of it faithfully, and to the perfect Satisfaction of my Superiors, which I thought was all that should be expected of me on that Account. As to the Letters com-

plained of, it was true I did write them, and they were written in compliance with another Duty, that to my Country; a Duty quite distinct from that of PostMaster.

My Conduct in this respect was exactly similar to that I held on a similar Occasion but a few Years ago, when the then Ministry were ready to hug me for the Assistance I afforded them of repealing a former revenue Act. My Sentiments were still the same, that no such Acts should be made here for America; or, if made, should as soon as possible be repealed; and I thought it should not be expected of me to change my political Opinions every time his Majesty thought fit to change his Ministers. This was my Language on the occasion; and I have lately heard, that, though I was thought much to blame, it being understood that every man who holds an office should act with the ministry, whether agreeable or not to his own judgment, yet, in consideration of the goodness of my private character (as they were pleased to compliment me), the office was not to be taken from me.

Possibly they may still change their minds, and remove me; but no apprehension of that sort will, I trust, make the least alteration in my political conduct. My rule, in which I have always found satisfaction, is, never to turn aside in public affairs through views of private interest; but to go straight forward in doing what appears to me right at the time, leaving the consequences with Providence. What in my younger days enabled me more easily to walk upright, was, that I had a trade, and that I knew I could live upon little; and thence (never having had views of making a fortune) I was free from avarice, and contented with the plentiful supplies my business afforded me. And now it is still more easy for me to preserve my freedom and integrity, when I consider that I am almost

at the end of my journey, and therefore need less to complete the expense of it; and that what I now possess, through the blessing of God, may, with tolerable economy, be sufficient for me (great misfortunes excepted), though I should add nothing more to it by any office or employment whatsoever.

I send you by this opportunity the two books you wrote for. They cost three shillings apiece. When I was first in London, about forty-five years since, I knew a person, who had an opinion something like your author's. Her name was Ilive, a printer's widow. She died soon after I left England, and by her *will* obliged her son to deliver publicly, in Salters' Hall, a solemn discourse, the purport of which was to prove, that this world is the true Hell, or place of punishment for the spirits, who had transgressed in a better state, and were sent here to suffer for their sins in animals of all sorts. It is long since I saw the discourse, which was printed.[1] I think a good deal of Scripture was cited in it, and that the supposition was, that, though we now remembered nothing of such a pre-existent state, yet after death we might recollect it, and remember the punishments we had suffered, so as to be the better for them; and others, who had not yet offended, might now behold and be warned by our sufferings.

In fact, we see here, that every lower animal has its enemy, with proper inclinations, faculties, and weapons, to terrify, wound, and destroy it; and that men, who are uppermost, are devils to one another; so that, on the established doctrine of the goodness and justice of the great Creator, this apparent

[1] Jacob Ilive (1705-1763), who delivered this "Oration" in 1729, and who published it ("pursuant to the will" of his mother) in 1733, came of a family of printers. His father was a printer in Aldersgate Street, and his mother was a daughter of Thomas James, printer. Both his brothers were printers. He was imprisoned for blasphemy. — Ed.

state of general and systematical mischief seemed to demand some such supposition as Mrs. Ilive's, to account for it consistently with the honour of the Deity. But our reasoning powers, when employed about what may have been before our existence here, or shall be after it, cannot go far, for want of history and facts. Revelation only can give us the necessary information, and that, in the first of these points especially, has been very sparingly afforded us.

I hope you continue to correspond with your friends at Philadelphia. My love to your children; and believe me ever your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

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539. TO THOMAS CUSHING [1]

London, February 5, 1771.

SIR,

Since mine of December 24th, I have been honoured by the letter from the Committee, dated December 17th, which, with yours of November 6th, now lies before me.

The doctrine of the right of Parliament to lay taxes on America is now almost generally given up here, and one seldom meets in conversation with any, who continue to assert it. But there are still many, who think that the dignity and honour of Parliament, and of the nation, are so much engaged, as that no formal renunciation of the claim is ever to be expected. We ought to be contented, they say, with a forbearance of any attempt hereafter to exercise such right; and this they would have us rely on as a certainty. Hints are also given, that the duties now subsisting may be gradually with-

[1] First published by Sparks.

drawn, as soon as a regard to that dignity will permit it to be decently done, without subjecting government to the contempt of all Europe, as being compelled into measures by the refractoriness of the colonies. How far this may be depended on, no one can say. The presumption rather is, that if by time, we become so accustomed to these, as to pay them without discontent, no minister will afterwards think of taking them off, but rather be encouraged to add others.

Perhaps there was never an instance of a colony so much and so long persecuted with vehement and malicious abuse, as ours has been, for near two years past, by its enemies here and those who reside in it. The design apparently was, by rendering us odious, as well as contemptible, to prevent all concern for us in the friends of liberty here, when the projects of oppressing us further, and depriving us of our rights by various violent measures, should be carried into execution. Of late, this abuse has abated; the sentiments of a majority of the ministers are, I think, become more favourable towards us; and I have reason to believe, that all those projects are now laid aside. The projectors themselves, too, are, I believe, somewhat diminished in their credit; and it appears not likely that any new schemes of the kind will be listened to, if fresh occasion is not administered from our side the water. It seems, however, too early yet to expect such an attention to our complaints, as would be necessary to obtain an immediate redress of our grievances. A little time is requisite; but no opportunity will be lost by your agents, of stating them where it may be of use, and inculcating the necessity of removing them, for the strength and safety of the empire. And I hope the colony Assemblies will show, by frequently repeated resolves, that they know their rights, and do not lose

sight of them. Our growing importance will ere long compel an acknowledgment of them, and establish and secure them to our posterity.

In case of my leaving this country, which I may possibly do in the ensuing summer, I shall put into the hands of Dr. Lee [1] all the papers relating to your affairs, which I have received from you, or from the son of your late agent, Mr. De Berdt. The present American secretary, Lord Hillsborough, has indeed objected to the Assembly's appointment, and insists that no agent ought to be received or attended to, by government here, who is not appointed by an act of the General Court, to which the governor has given his assent. This doctrine, if he could establish it, would in a manner give to his Lordship the power of appointing, or at least negativing any choice of the House of Representatives and Council, since it would be easy for him to instruct the governor not to assent to the appointment of such and such men, who are obnoxious to him; so that, if the appointment is annual, every agent that valued his post must consider himself as holding it by the favour of his Lordship, and of course too much obliged to him to oppose his measures, however contrary to the interest of the province.

Of what use such agents would be, it is easy to judge; and, although I am assured, that, notwithstanding this fancy of his Lordship, any memorial, petition, or other address from, or in behalf of, the House of Representatives to the King in Council, or to either House of Parliament, would be received from your agent as usual, yet, on this occasion, I cannot but wish, that the public character of a colony agent was better

[1] Arthur Lee, who, having taken the degree of doctor in medicine before he commenced the study of the law, was sometimes called Dr. Lee. — S.

understood and settled, as well as the political relation between the colonists and the mother country.

When they come to be considered in the light of *distinct states*, as I conceive they really are, possibly their agents may be treated with more respect, and considered more as public ministers. Under the present American administration, they are rather looked on with an evil eye, as obstructers of ministerial measures; and the Secretary would, I imagine, be well pleased to get rid of them, being, as he has sometimes intimated, of opinion that agents are unnecessary, for that, whatever is to be transacted between the assemblies of colonies and the government here, may be done through and by the governor's letters, and more properly than by any agent whatever. In truth, your late nominations, particularly of Dr. Lee and myself, have not been at all agreeable to his Lordship.

I purpose, however, to draw up a memorial, stating our rights and grievances, and, in the name and behalf of the province, protesting particularly against the late innovations in respect to the military power obtruded on the civil, as well as the other infringements of the charter; and at a proper time, if Mr. Bollan on due consideration approves of it and will join me in it, to present it to his Majesty in Council. Whether speedy redress is or is not the consequence, I imagine it may be of good use to keep alive our claims, and show, that we have not given up the contested points, though we take no violent measures to obtain them.

A notion has been much inculcated here by our enemies, that any farther concession on the part of Great Britain would only serve to increase our demands. I have constantly given it as my opinion, that, if the colonies were restored to the state they were in before the Stamp Act, they would be satisfied,

and contend no further. As in this I have been supposed not to know, or not to speak the sentiments of the Americans, I am glad to find the same so fully expressed in the Committee's letter. It was certainly, as I have often urged, bad policy, when they attempted to heal our differences by repealing part of the duties only; as it is bad surgery to leave splinters in a wound, which must prevent its healing, or in time occasion it to open afresh.

There is no doubt of the intention to make governors and some other officers independent of the people for their support, and that this purpose will be persisted in, if the American revenue is found sufficient to defray the salaries. Many think this so necessary a measure, that, even if there were no such revenue, the money should issue out of the treasury here. But this, I apprehend, would hardly be the case, there being so many demands at home; and the salaries of so many officers in so many colonies would amount to such an immense sum, that probably the burden would be found too great, and the providing for the expense of their own governments be left to the colonies themselves.

I shall watch every thing that may be moved to the detriment of the province, and use my best endeavours for its service.

No public notice has yet been taken of the inflammatory paper mentioned by the Committee, as stuck up in Boston; and I think the indiscretion of individuals is not now so likely, as it has been of late, to make general impressions to our disadvantage. With the greatest respect, &c.

B. Franklin.

540. TO JAMES BOWDOIN (B. M.)

London, Feb. 5. 1771

Dear Sir

I am very sensible of the honour done me by your House of Representatives, in appointing me their Agent here. It will make me extreamly happy, if I can render them any valuable Service. I have had several Conferences with Mr. Bollan on their Affairs.

There is a good Understanding between us which I shall endeavour to cultivate. At present the Cloud, that threatened our Charter Liberties, seems to be blown over. In time, I hope harmony will be restored between the two Countries, by leaving us in the full possession and enjoyment of our Rights.

It will be a great pleasure to me if I can be any way useful to your Son while he stays in England; being with the greatest Esteem and Respect for you and Mrs. Bowdoin, dear Sir,

Your most obedient & most humble Servant

B. Franklin.

P. S. Inclos'd I send you a Copy of an original Paper of some curiosity now in my hands. The first part, i.e. the Queries you will find in the papers pertaining to the Governor's History, but not the Abstract or state given with them to Mr. Randolph.[1] The old spelling is preserv'd in the Copy.

[1] Randolph's answers to the Queries are dated October 12, 1676, and are printed in Hutchinson's Collection of State Papers, pp. 477–503. — Ed.

541. TO SAMUEL COOPER (B. M.)

London, Feb. 5. 1771

Dear Sir,

I have just received your kind Favour of January 1 by Mr. Bowdoin, to whom I should be glad to render any Service here. I wrote to you some Weeks since in Answer to yours of July and November, expressing my Sentiments without the least Reserve on Points that require free Discussion, as I know I can confide in your Prudence not to hurt my Usefulness here, by making me more obnoxious than I must necessarily be from that known Attachment to the American Interest, which my Duty as well as Inclination demands of me.

In the same Confidence I send you the inclosed Extract from my Journal, containing a late Conference between the Secretary [1] and your Friend, in which you will see a little of his Temper: It is one of the many Instances of his Behaviour and Conduct, that have given me the very mean Opinion I entertain of his Abilities and Fitness for his Station. His Character is Conceit, Wrongheadedness, Obstinacy, and Passion. Those, who would speak most favourably of him, allow all this; they only add, that he is an honest Man, and means well. If that be true, as perhaps it may, I wish him a better Place, where only Honesty and Well-meaning are required, and where his other Qualities can do no harm. Had the War taken place, I have reason to believe he would have been removed. He had, I think, some Apprehensions of it himself at the Time I was with him. I hope, however, that our Affairs will not much longer be perplex'd and em-

[1] Lord Hillsborough.

barass'd by his perverse and senseless Management. I have since heard, that his Lordship took great Offence at some of my last Words, which he calls extreamly rude and abusive. He assured a Friend of mine, that they were equivalent to telling him to his Face, that the Colonies could expect neither Favour nor Justice during his Administration. I find he did not mistake me.

It is true, as you have heard, that some of my Letters to America have been echo'd back hither; but that has not been the Case with any that were written to you. Great Umbrage was taken, but chiefly by Lord Hillsborough, who was disposed before to be angry with me, and therefore the Inconvenience was the less; and, whatever the Consequences are of his Displeasure, putting all my Offences together, I must bear them as well as I can. Not but that, if there is to be War between us, I shall do my best to defend myself and annoy my Adversary, little regarding the story of the Earthen Pot and Brazen Pitcher. One encouragement I have, the knowledge, that he is not a whit better lik'd by his Colleagues in the Ministry, than he is by me, that he cannot probably continue where he is much longer, and that he can scarce be succeeded by anybody, who will not like me the better for his having been at Variance with me.

Pray continue Writing to me, as you find Opportunity. Your candid, clear, and well written Letters, be assured, are of great use. With the highest Esteem, I am, my dear Friend, &c.

B. Franklin.

Minutes of the Conference mentioned in the preceding Letter.

Wednesday, January 16, 1771.

I WENT this morning to wait on Lord Hillsborough. The porter at first denied his Lordship, on which I left my name and drove off. But, before the coach got out of the square, the coachman heard a call, turned, and went back to the door, when the porter came and said, "His Lordship will see you, Sir." I was shown into the levee room, where I found Governor Bernard, who, I understand, attends there constantly. Several other gentlemen were there attending, with whom I sat down a few minutes, when Secretary Pownall [1] came out to us, and said his Lordship desired I would come in.

I was pleased with this ready admission and preference, having sometimes waited three or four hours for my turn; and, being pleased, I could more easily put on the open, cheerful countenance, that my friends advised me to wear. His Lordship came towards me and said, "I was dressing in order to go to court; but, hearing that you were at the door, who are a man of business, I determined to see you immediately." I thanked his Lordship, and said that my business at present was not much; it was only to pay my respects to his Lordship, and to acquaint him with my appointment by the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay to be their agent here, in which station if I could be of any service — (I was going on to say — "to the public, I should be very happy;" but his Lordship, whose countenance changed at my naming

[1] John Pownall, Secretary to the Board of Trade, and brother to Governor Pownall. — ED.

that province, cut me short by saying, with something between a smile and a sneer,)

L. H. I must set you right there, Mr. Franklin, you are not agent.

B. F. Why, my Lord?

L. H. You are not appointed.

B. F. I do not understand your Lordship; I have the appointment in my pocket.

L. H. You are mistaken; I have later and better advices. I have a letter from Governor Hutchinson; he would not give his assent to the bill.

B. F. There was no bill, my Lord; it was a vote of the House.

L. H. There was a bill presented to the governor for the purpose of appointing you and another, one Dr. Lee, I think he is called, to which the governor refused his assent.

B. F. I cannot understand this, my Lord; I think there must be some mistake in it. Is your Lordship quite sure that you have such a letter?

L. H. I will convince you of it directly. (*Rings the bell.*) Mr. Pownall will come in and satisfy you.

B. F. It is not necessary, that I should now detain your Lordship from dressing. You are going to court. I will wait on your Lordship another time.

L. H. No, stay; he will come immediately. (*To the servant.*) Tell Mr. Pownall I want him.

(*Mr. Pownall comes in.*)

L. H. Have not you at hand Governor Hutchinson's letter, mentioning his refusing his assent to the bill for appointing Dr. Franklin agent?

Sec. P. My Lord?

L. H. Is there not such a letter?

Sec. P. No, my Lord; there is a letter relating to some bill for the payment of a salary to Mr. De Berdt, and I think to some other agent, to which the governor had refused his assent.

L. H. And is there nothing in the letter to the purpose I mention?

Sec. P. No, my Lord.

B. F. I thought it could not well be, my Lord; as my letters are by the last ships, and they mention no such thing. Here is the authentic copy of the vote of the House appointing me, in which there is no mention of any act intended. Will your Lordship please to look at it? (*With seeming unwillingness he takes it, but does not look into it.*)

L. H. An information of this kind is not properly brought to me as Secretary of State. The Board of Trade is the proper place.

B. F. I will leave the paper then with Mr. Pownall to be ——

L. H. (*Hastily.*) To what end would you leave it with him?

B. F. To be entered on the minutes of that Board, as usual.

L. H. (*Angrily.*) It shall not be entered there. No such paper shall be entered there, while I have any thing to do with the business of that Board. The House of Representatives has no right to appoint an agent. We shall take no notice of any agents, but such as are appointed by acts of Assembly, to which the governor gives his assent. We have had confusion enough already. Here is one agent appointed by the Council, another by the House of Representatives.

Which of these is agent for the province? Who are we to hear in provincial affairs? An agent appointed by act of Assembly we can understand. No other will be attended to for the future, I can assure you.

B. F. I cannot conceive, my Lord, why the consent of the governor should be thought necessary to the appointment of an agent for the people. It seems to me that ——

L. H. (*With a mixed look of anger and contempt.*) I shall not enter into a dispute with YOU, Sir, upon this subject.

B. F. I beg your Lordship's pardon; I do not presume to dispute with your Lordship; I would only say, that it seems to me, that every body of men, who cannot appear in person, where business relating to them may be transacted, should have a right to appear by an agent. The concurrence of the governor does not seem to me necessary. It is the business of the people, that is to be done; he is not one of them; he is himself an agent.

L. H. (*Hastily.*) Whose agent is he?

B. F. The King's, my Lord.

L. H. No such matter. He is one of the corporation by the province charter. No agent can be appointed but by an act, nor any act pass without his assent. Besides, this proceeding is directly contrary to express instructions.

B. F. I did not know there had been such instructions. I am not concerned in any offence against them, and ——

L. H. Yes, your offering such a paper to be entered is an offence against them. (*Folding it up again without having read a word of it.*) No such appointment shall be entered. When I came into the administration of American affairs, I found them in great disorder. By *my firmness* they are now something mended; and, while I have the honour to hold the

seals, I shall continue the same conduct, the same *firmness*. I think my duty to the master I serve, and to the government of this nation, requires it of me. If that conduct is not approved, *they* may take my office from me when they please. I shall make them a bow, and thank them; I shall resign with pleasure. That gentleman knows it, (*pointing to Mr. Pownall,*) but, while I continue in it, I shall resolutely persevere in the same FIRMNESS. (*Spoken with great warmth, and turning pale in his discourse, as if he was angry at something or somebody besides the agent, and of more consequence to himself.*)

B. F. (*Reaching out his hand for the paper, which his Lordship returned to him.*) I beg your Lordship's pardon for taking up so much of your time. It is, I believe, of no great importance whether the appointment is acknowledged or not, for I have not the least conception that an agent can *at present* be of any use to any of the colonies. I shall therefore give your Lordship no further trouble. (*Withdrew.*)

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542. TO CADWALLADER EVANS[1]

London, February 10, 1771.

DEAR DOCTOR,

I have not now before me your letter, which came with the sample of silk, having put it into the hands of Mr. Walpole with the sample, who has promised me full and particular answers to all your queries, after the silk has been thoroughly examined. In the mean time he tells me, the best sort appears to him to be worth in itself twenty-seven or twenty-

[1] Printed from Sparks.

eight shillings a pound, and will fetch that price when some imperfections in the reeling it are remedied. He tells me farther, that the best eggs are to be had from Valencia in Spain, whence he will procure some for you against the next year; the worms from those eggs being the strongest, healthiest, and producing the finest silk of any others; and he thinks you should get some reelers from Italy, which he would likewise undertake to do for you if desired. He is one of the most opulent and noble-spirited merchants of this kingdom.

I shall write to you fully by Osborne, with all the information I can procure. In the mean time, please to present my respects to the gentlemen concerned in the affair, and assure them of my best services. I am, my dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. Franklin.

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543. TO SAMUEL RHOADS (P. H. S.)

London, Feb. 10. 1771

Dear Friend,

I received your kind favour of Nov. 9. and am glad to hear of the Welfare of you and yours. —

Mentioning to a Friend of mine, Mr. Wooller, an Engineer, your Idea of Paint and Sand, to make Roofs durable and safer from Fire (which I hope you will try, as I think it very likely to succeed) he communicated to me an Account of a new Method of Covering, in the North, that is in some respects similar, may be as durable, but in my Opinion not so safe. Perhaps it may be of Use for Summer-Houses, Barns, Outhouses, or Buildings where no Fire comes; (and therefore

I send you the Account enclos'd) but I think I should not care to trust it in a Dwelling-House, in a Town, unless the under Side of the Boards was lathed & plaistered between the Rafters, which would add to the Expence: For tho' the Outside, hardened by the Air, and paved as it were, by the Sand, Shells, &c. might not readily take fire, the Tar coming thro' the Seams or Cracks of the Boards might be readily inflamed by a Candle from the Inside, placed carelessly by Servants in the Garret.

The Flatness of the Roof, as well as of those with Copper, lessens a good deal the Areas to be covered, and of course the Expence.

I am glad to hear that you have good Workmen in the Stucco Way, and that it is likely to take place of Wainscot. —

In some of the Paris Buildings the Floors are thus formed. The Joists are large and square, and laid with two of their Corners up and down, whereby their sloping Sides afford Butments for intermediate Arches of Brick. Over the whole is laid an Inch or two of Loom and on that the Tiles of the Floor, which are often six-square, & painted. The lower Corner of the Joists is cut off enough to admit of nailing to them the Laths that are to hold the Plaister of the Cieling of the Room beneath. Where there is any Apprehension of Walls spreading by the Weight of such Floor, they are prevented by Bars of Iron, with external SS. This kind of Floor seems safe from Fire: For the Joists in Contact with the Bricks above, and shielded by the Plaister Cieling below are not very likely to kindle and burn. It likewise prevents in a great degree the Noise of what is doing over-head offending those below. But it is heavy, takes up more Room, requires great Strength of Timber and is supposed more expen-

sive than Boards. I apprehend those Arches are not generally used; but the Tiles are more commonly laid upon rough Boards & the Joints clos'd with fine Mortar or some kind of Cement.

Plaster Floors are of late coming again into Use here. I know not whether we have the proper Materials in our Province; but I have been told there are Quarries of the kind in Nova Scotia near navigable Water. — I send you however an Account of the Method of managing it. All from my Friend the ingenious Mr Wooller. —

Remember me respectfully & affectionately to Mrs Rhoads & my dear old Friend Mrs Paschal.

With sincere Esteem, I am, dear Friend,

Yours most affectionately

B. Franklin

I send you also a Pamphlet on the Subject of securing Houses from Fire tho' the Method is perhaps impracticable with us. —

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544. TO ROBERT MORRIS AND THOMAS LEACH

(P. H. S.)

London, March 5. 1771

Sir,

I duly received your several Favours of Oct. 9. and December 13. inclosing Bills of Exchange, viz. On

Greenwood & Higginson for	£100··0··0
On Campbell — for —	£ 20··0··0
	£120··0··0

which are paid and carried to the Credit of the Province Account. I am much obliged to you and the Assembly

for so readily transmitting them; and it makes me very happy to understand that my Endeavours in their Service are in any degree acceptable.

Notwithstanding the ample Recommendations brought over by Mr Winter, the Bishop of London has refused him Ordination, for two Reasons, as I understand, his mechanical Education, and his Connection with Mr Whitefield & the Methodists. I did not think either of these of so much Weight as to discourage me from attempting to get him ordain'd by some other Bishop of London as might overcome his Lordship's Objections. — Accordingly I endeavour'd to engage in his Favour the Associates of Dr Bray, a Society of which I have long been a Member. As it was established for Purposes similar to that of Mr Louberbuhler's Will, I hope they would readily have afforded us the Weight of their Recommendation, or my laying before them a Copy of the Will, Copies of several Letters from you and Mr Flabersham, &c. — But the Idea of his being a Methodist, and the Imagination of his neglecting the Negroes and becoming an Itinerant Preacher, disturbing regular Congregations, &c. &c. as soon as he should obtain Ordination, I found were thought sufficient Reason to prevent their concerning themselves in the Affair. However I do not yet quite despair of it.

Mentioning Mr Whitefield, I cannot forbear expressing the Pleasure it gave me to see in the Newspapers an Account of the Respect paid to his Memory by your Assembly. I knew him intimately upwards of thirty years. His Integrity, Disinterestedness, and indefatigable Zeal in prosecuting every good Work, I have never seen equalled, I shall never see exceeded.

The enclos'd Paper has been put into my Hand by M^r^

Maudit, a principal Man among the Dissenters here. I promised him to communicate it to you. The Dissenters were for complaining to Government, and petitioning for Redress; but Mr Maudit advis'd that Mr Frink should first be written to, as possibly he might be dissuaded from persisting in such Demands. I know nothing of the Circumstances but what appears in the Paper, nor am I acquainted with your Laws; but I make no doubt you will advise what is proper and prudent to be done in the Affair. The Dissenters in those Northern Colonies where they are predominant, have by Laws exempted those of the Church of England residing among them from all Rates and Payments toward the Support of the Dissenting Clergy; and methinks it would be a Pity to give them a Handle against re-enacting those Laws when they expire; for they are temporary, and their perpetual Laws tax all Sects alike. The Colonies have Adversaries enow to their common Privileges: They should endeavour to agree among themselves, and avoid everything that may make Ill-Blood and promote Divisions, which must weaken them in their common Defence.

If the Laws of your Province are printed, I should wish to be furnished with a Copy; it must be sometimes of Use to me in the Management of your Business.

With great Esteem and Respect, I have the Honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient

humble Servant

B Franklin.

P. S. I shall shortly write fully to the Committee relating to the Matters referr'd in the Letter of May 23, '70 — in the mean time be so good as to inform them that the Business has

not been neglected. The Hurry in our Public Councils during the first Part of the Winter, occasion'd by the Expectation of an immediate foreign War, and the domestic Confusion that took place after the Convention, have been great Hindrances to proceeding in American Affairs.

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545. TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS[1]

London, March 5, 1771

Loving Cousin,

I suppose Jonathan has told you, that the lottery is drawn, and your two new tickets had the same success as the former, namely, one twenty-pound prize, and one blank. Would you go on any further?

Josiah is very happy in being under the tuition of Mr. Stanley, who very kindly undertook him at my request, though he had left off teaching. Josiah goes constantly, too, to several concerts, besides operas and oratorios, so that his thirst for music is in a way of being thoroughly satiated. This is the principal expense; for, in all other respects, I never saw two young men from America more prudent and frugal, than he and his brother are.

Jonathan seems to have an excellent turn for business, and to be a perfect master of accounts. In the latter he has been of great use to me, having put all mine in order for me. There is a proposal from his uncle of his going to East India, as a writer in the Company's service, which I wish may take place, as I think, if he lives, he cannot fail bringing home a

[1] From "A Collection of the Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Franklin" (Sparks), Boston, 1833, p. 137. — Ed.

fortune. He had ordered a cargo of goods to be sent you for cousin Wood's shop, and had given expectations of paying ready money. But, one of your bills being protested, there seemed a necessity of asking some credit of the merchant. I advised him to take what was wanting of me, rather than fail in punctuality to his word, which is sacred here among all that would maintain a character in trade. He did so; and thereby also saved the discount without putting me to the least inconvenience, provided the money is replaced in six months; and I was glad I had it in my power to accommodate him.

I hope you have before this time got another tenant for your house, and at the former rent. However, I would have you go on advancing to my sister the amount of it, as I am persuaded she cannot well do without it. She has, indeed, been very unfortunate in her children. I am glad to hear, that, as soon as the weather permits, the tomb will receive a thorough repair. Your kind care in this matter will greatly oblige your affectionate uncle,

B. Franklin.

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546. TO MRS. WILLIAMS[1] (P. C.)

London, March 5, 1771.

Dear Cousin,

I received your kind Letter with your Sons. They are, I assure you, exceeding welcome to me; and they behave with so much Prudence, that no two young Men could possibly less need the Advice you would have me give them. Josiah is

[1] From the original in the possession of Mr. Louis A. Biddle. Mrs. Williams, the mother of Jonathan Williams, was Grace Harris, a niece of Benjamin Franklin. — Ed.

very happily employ'd in his Musical Pursuits. And as you hinted to me, that it would be agreable to you, if I employ'd Jonathan in Writing, I requested him to put my Accounts in Order, which had been much neglected. He undertook it with the utmost chearfulness and Readiness, and executed it with the greatest Diligence, making me a compleat new Set of Books, fairly written out and settled in a mercantile Manner, which is a great Satisfaction to me, and a very considerable Service. I mention this, that you may not be in the least Uneasy from an Apprehension of their Visit being burthensome to me; it being, I assure you, quite the contrary.

It has been wonderful to me to see a young Man from America, in a Place so full of various Amusements as London is, as attentive to Business, as diligent in it, and keeping as close at home till it was finished, as if it had been for his own Profit; and as if he had been at the Publick Diversions so often, as to be tired of them.

I pray God to keep and preserve you and yours, and give you again, in due time, a happy Sight of these valuable Sons; being your affectionate Uncle,

B. Franklin.

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547. TO THE LIBRARY CO. OF PHILADELPHIA [1]

London, April 16, 1771

Gentlemen

I received yours of Jan. 25 with a Catalogue of Books to be purchased for the Library Company. The Collection is making with all possible Expedition, but I fear will scarce be ready to go with this Ship.

[1] From the original in the possession of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. — Ed.

I beg you would not imagine it giving me Trouble When you send me the Commands of the Company. If I can execute them to their Satisfaction it will on the contrary be a very great Pleasure to me For I have many Reasons to wish well to the Institution.

I hope to send you with the Books an Estimate of the Cost of the European Transactions and the French Cyclopædia.

I am very Respectfully

B. Franklin.

Messrs Mich. Hillegas
Nich. Waln
and R. Strettrell Jones

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548. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, April 20, 1771.

Dear Son,

It is long since I have heard from you. The last Packet brought me no Letter, and there are two Packets now due. It is supposed that the long easterly Winds have kept them back. We have had a severe and tedious Winter here. There is not yet the smallest Appearance of Spring. Not a Bud has push'd out, nor a Blade of Grass. The Turnips that us'd to feed the Cattle have been destroy'd by the Frost. The Hay in most Parts of the Country is gone, and the Cattle perishing for Want, the Lambs dying by thousands, thro' Cold and scanty Nourishment. Tuesday last I went to dine at our Friend Sir Matthew Featherstone's[1] thro' a heavy Storm of Snow. His Windows you know look into the Park. Towards Evening I observ'd the Snow still lying over all the

[1] A member of the Royal Society, elected a Fellow, February 13, 1752. — Ed.

Park, for the Ground was before too cold to thaw it, being itself frozen & Ice in the Canal. You cannot imagine a more winterlike Prospect! Sir M. and Lady F. always enquire kindly of your Welfare: As do Mr. and Mrs. Sargent.

Sir John Pringle has heard from Mr. Bowman of your kindness to that gent^n^, and desires I would present his particular Acknowledgments for the Attention you have paid to his Recommendation.[1] The Ohio Affair seems now near a Conclusion. And if the present Ministry stand a little longer, I think it will be compleated to our Satisfaction. Mr. Wharton has been indefatigable, and I think scarce any one I know besides would have been equal to the Task, so difficult it is to get Business forward here, in which some Party Purpose is not to be served: But he is among them, eternally, & leaves no Stone unturn'd. I would, however, advise you not to say anything of our Prospect of Success, till the Event appears, for many things happen between the Cup & the Lip.

I have attended several Times this Winter upon your Acts of Assembly. The Board are not favourably dispos'd towards your Insolvent Acts, pretending to doubt whether distant Creditors, particularly such as reside in England, may not sometimes be injured by them. I have had a good deal of Conversation with Mr. Jackson about them, who remarks that whatever Care the Assembly may, according to my Representation of their Practice, take in examining into the Cases to prevent Injustice, yet upon the Face of the Acts nothing

[1] A paragraph concerning William Franklin's accounts is here omitted. The only item of interest in it is: "the heaviest Part is the Maintenance & Education of Temple but that his Friends will not grudge when they see him." — Ed.

of that Care appears. The Preambles only say that such & such Persons have petitioned & set forth the Hardship of their Imprisonment, but not a Word of the Assembly's having enquired into the Allegations contained in such Petitions and found them true, not a Word of the general Consent of the principal Creditors, or of any publick Notice given of the Debtor's Intention to apply for such an Act; all which he thinks should appear in the Preambles, and then those Acts would be subject to less Objection and Difficulty in getting them through the Offices here. I would have you communicate this to the Speaker of the Assembly, with my best Respects. I doubt some of those Acts will be repeal'd. Nothing has been done, or is now likely to be done by the Parliament in American Affairs: The House of Commons & the City of London are got into a violent Controversy, that seems at present to engross the publick Attention, and the Session cannot continue much longer.

By this Ship I send the Picture that you left with Meyer. He has never yet finished the Miniatures. The other Pictures I send with it are for my own House, but this you may take to yours.

B. FRANKLIN.

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549. TO HUMPHRY MARSHALL[1]

London, April 22, 1771 —

SIR,

I duly received your Favours of the 4th of October and the 17th of November. It gave me Pleasure to hear, that tho' the Merchants had departed from their Agreement of Non-

[1] From a facsimile. — ED.

Importation, the Spirit of Industry and Frugality was likely to continue among the People. I am obliged to you for your Concern on my Account. The Letters you mention gave great Offence here; but that was not attended with the immediate ill Consequences to my Interest that seem to have been hoped for by those that sent Copies of them hither.

If our Country People would well consider, that all they save in refusing to purchase foreign Gewgaws, & in making their own Apparel, being apply'd to the Improvement of their Plantations, would render those more profitable, as yielding a greater Produce, I should hope they would persist resolutely in their present commendable Industry and Frugality. And there is still a farther Consideration. The Colonies that produce Provisions grow very fast: But of the Countries that take off those Provisions, some do not increase at all, as the European Nations; and others, as the West India Colonies, not in the same proportion. So that tho' the Demand at present may be sufficient, it cannot long continue so. Every Manufacturer encouraged in our Country, makes part of a Market for Provisions within ourselves, and saves so much Money to the Country as must otherwise be exported to pay for the Manufactures he supplies. Here in England it is well known and understood, that whenever a Manufacture is established which employs a Number of Hands, it raises the Value of Lands in the neighbouring Country all around it; partly by the greater Demand near at hand for the produce of the Land; and partly from the Plenty of Money drawn by the Manufacturers to that part of the Country. It seems therefore the Interest of all our Farmers and Owners of Lands, to encourage our young Manufactures in preference to foreign ones imported among us from distant Countries. —

I am much obliged by your kind Present of curious Seeds. They were welcome Gifts to some of my Friends. — I send you herewith some of the new Barley lately introduced into this Country, & now highly spoken of, I wish it may be found of Use with us. —

I was the more pleased to see in your Letter the Improvement of our Paper, having had a principal Share in establishing that Manufacture among us many Years ago, by the Encouragement I gave it. —

If in anything I can serve you here, it will be a Pleasure to

Your obliged Friend

and humble Servant,

B FRANKLIN.

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550. TO THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE IN MASSACHUSETTS[1]

London, May 15, 1771.

GENTLEMEN,

I have received your favour of the 27th of February, with the Journal of the House of Representatives, and copies of the late oppressive prosecutions in the Admiralty Court, which I shall, as you direct, communicate to Mr. Bollan, and consult with him on the most advantageous use to be made of them for the interest of the province.

I think one may clearly see, in the system of customs to be exacted in America by act of Parliament, the seeds sown of a total disunion of the two countries, though, as yet, that event may be at a considerable distance. The course and

[1] First published by Sparks. The members of this committee were Thomas Cushing, James Otis, and Samuel Adams. — S.

natural progress seems to be, first, the appointment of needy men as officers, for others do not care to leave England; then, their necessities make them rapacious, their office makes them proud and insolent, their insolence and rapacity make them odious, and, being conscious that they are hated, they become malicious; their malice urges them to a continual abuse of the inhabitants in their letters to administration, representing them as disaffected and rebellious, and (to encourage the use of severity) as weak, divided, timid, and cowardly. Government believes all; thinks it necessary to support and countenance its officers; their quarrelling with the people is deemed a mark and consequence of their fidelity; they are therefore more highly rewarded, and this makes their conduct still more insolent and provoking.

The resentment of the people will, at times and on particular incidents, burst into outrages and violence upon such officers, and this naturally draws down severity and acts of further oppression from hence. The more the people are dissatisfied, the more rigor will be thought necessary; severe punishments will be inflicted to terrify; rights and privileges will be abolished; greater force will then be required to secure execution and submission; the expense will become enormous; it will then be thought proper, by fresh exactions, to make the people defray it; thence, the British nation and government will become odious, the subjection to it will be deemed no longer tolerable; war ensues, and the bloody struggle will end in absolute slavery to America, or ruin to Britain by the loss of her colonies; the latter most probable, from America's growing strength and magnitude.

But, as the whole empire must, in either case, be greatly weakened, I cannot but wish to see much patience and the

utmost discretion in our general conduct, that the fatal period may be postponed, and that, whenever this catastrophe shall happen, it may appear to all mankind, that the fault has not been ours. And, since the collection of these duties has already cost Britain infinitely more, in the loss of commerce, than they amount to, and that loss is likely to continue and increase by the encouragement given to our manufactures through resentment; and since the best pretence for establishing and enforcing the duties is the regulation of trade for the general advantage, it seems to me, that it would be much better for Britain to give them up, on condition of the colonies undertaking to enforce and collect such, as are thought fit to be continued, by laws of their own, and officers of their own appointment, for the public uses of their respective governments. This would alone destroy those seeds of disunion, and both countries might thence much longer continue to grow great together, more secure by their united strength, and more formidable to their common enemies. But the power of appointing friends and dependents to profitable offices is too pleasing to most administrations, to be easily parted with or lessened; and therefore such a proposition if it were made, is not very likely to meet with attention.

I do not pretend to the gift of prophecy. History shows, that, by these steps, great empires have crumbled heretofore; and the late transactions we have so much cause to complain of show, that we are in the same train, and that, without a greater share of prudence and wisdom, than we have seen both sides to be possessed of, we shall probably come to the same conclusion.

The Parliament, however, is prorogued, without having taken any of the steps we had been threatened with, relating

to our charter. Their attention has been engrossed by other affairs, and we have therefore longer time to operate in making such impressions, as may prevent a renewal of this particular attempt by our adversaries. With great esteem and respect, I have the honour to be, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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551. TO ISAAC SMITH (A. P. S.)

Cravenstreet May 17, 1771

SIR,

Being greatly hurried in preparing for my Journey, I have barely had time to write the enclos'd. — I cannot find M. Allemand's Paper: — But you will meet with no Difficulty in Holland. A good general Rule in travelling foreign Countries, is, to avoid as much as possible all Disputes, & to be contented with such Provisions and Cookery, as you meet with in the Inns, so you will have the best the Country affords in the Season, which you cannot know so as to direct, and if you attempt to direct the Cookery they will not understand or be able to follow your Orders, & whatever Difficulties you put them to they will be sure to charge you extravagantly for, particularly in Holland. — I inclose a Card of the House at which I lodg'd in Paris. — It is a good one, that I can recommend to you. If full, Mrs. Mean, the Landlady, will advise you in the Choice of another. Wishing you & your Companion a good Journey & happy Return to your Friends, I am, Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant.

B. FRANKLIN.

M. Dessin at the Hotel D'Angleterre at Calais, will advise you about your Journey, Baggage &c. His is a good House, & I recommend it to you as your Inn, when there.

552. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, June 5. 1771

My dear Child,

I have lately made a Journey of a Fortnight, to Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, and Manchester, and return'd only in time to be at Court on the King's Birthday, which was yesterday. The Joy was in a fair way of being doubled on the same Day, for the Queen was deliver'd early this Morning of another Prince, the eighth Child, there being now six Princes and two Princesses, all lovely Children. The Prince of Wales & the Bishop of Oszabrug appear'd yesterday for the first time in the Drawingroom, and gave great Pleasure by their sensible, manly Behaviour. My Journey has been of use to my Health, the Air and Exercise have given me fresh Spirits, and I feel now exceeding well, Thanks to God.

I wrote to you lately, and have received no Line from you by Capt. Sparks who is arrived. I suppose you have written by Falconer, who is not yet heard of. My love to our Children and Grandson. I am as ever, your affectionate husband,

B. Franklin.

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553. TO THOMAS CUSHING (P. R. O.)

(Private.)

London, June 10, 1771.

Sir: — I received your Favour of the 30th of April a few Days since, with the Newspapers, etc., and am much oblig'd by the Information you as a private Person so kindly give me of the present state of Affairs in your Province. Such a con-

fidential Correspondence between us I most willingly embrace, as I am persuaded it must be often useful in the prudent conduct of our publick interests to interchange Intelligence that cannot so properly or safely appear in Publick Letters, since nothing written to or from an Assembly can be kept from the Knowledge of Adversaries, who may take Advantage of it, to the Prejudice of our Affairs and of the Persons concerned in the Management of them.

The continuing our General Court at Cambridge has always appear'd to me a Measure extreamly impolitic in Government here, as it can tend only to irritate the Members, offend the People in general, and create an ill-humour that can never be for his Majesty's Service or the Benefit of this Nation. For supposing the Province to be ever so great an Offender, this is not a Punishment sufficient to reform by its severity; it is rather more fitted to affront and provoke. You will therefore hardly understand it, if you do not well know the Character of the present American Secretary, proud, supercilious, extreamly conceited, moderate as they are, of his political knowledge and Abilities, fond of every one that can stoop to flatter him, and inimical to all that dare tell him disagreable Truths. This Man's Mandates have been treated with Disrespect in America, his Letters have been criticis'd, his Measures censur'd and despis'd; which has produced in him a kind of settled Malice against the Colonies, particularly ours, that would break out into greater Violence if cooler Heads did not set some Bounds to it. I have indeed good Reason to believe that his Conduct is far from being approved by the King's other Servants, and that he himself is so generally dislik'd by them that it is not probable he will continue much longer in his present Station, the general

Wish here being to recover (saving only the Dignity of Government) the Good-Will of the Colonies, which there is little reason to expect while they are under his wild Administration. Their permitting so long his Eccentricities (if I may use such an Expression) is owing, I imagine, rather to the Difficulty of knowing how to dispose of or what to do with a man of his wrong-headed bustling Industry, who, it is apprehended, may be more mischievous out of Administration than in it, than to any kind of personal Regard for him.

All Views or Expectations of drawing any considerable Revenue to this Country from the Colonies are, I believe, generally given over, and it seems probable that nothing of that kind will ever again be attempted. But as Foreign Courts appear to have taken great Pleasure in the Prospect of our Disunion, it seems now to be thought necessary for supporting the National Weight and the Influence of our Court abroad, that there should be an Appearance as if all was pacified in America; and, as I said before, I think the general Wish is that it may be really so. But then there is an Apprehension lest a too sudden yielding to all our Claims should be deem'd the Effect of Weakness, render the British Court contemptible in the Eyes of Foreigners; make us more presumptuous, and promote more extravagant Demands such as could never be granted, and thence still greater Danger of a fatal Rupture. I am thus particular, that you may judge whether it will not be prudent in us to indulge the Mother Country in this Concern for her own Honour, so far as may be consistent with the Preservation of our essential Rights, especially as that Honour may in some Cases be of Importance to the General Welfare. And in this View, whether it will not be better gradually to wear off the assum'd

Authority of Parliament over America, which we have in too many Instances given countenance to, with our indiscrete Acknowledgment of it in Publick Acts, than by a general open Denial and Resistance to it, bring on prematurely a Contest to which, if we are not found equal, that Authority will by the Event be more strongly establish'd; and if we should prove superior, yet by the Division, the general strength of the British Nation must be greatly diminished. I do not venture to advise in this Case, because I see in this seemingly prudent Course some Danger of a diminishing Attention to our Rights, instead of a persevering Endeavor to recover and establish them; but I rely a good deal on the growing Knowledge of them among the Americans, and the daily increasing Strength and Importance of that Country to this, which must give such Weight in time to our just Claims as no selfish Spirit in this Part of the Empire will be able to resist. In the meantime, while we are declining the usurped Authority of Parliament, I wish to see a steady dutiful Attachment to the King and his Family maintained among us; and that however we may be induced for Peace-sake, or from a Sense of our present Inability, to submit at present in some Instances to the Exercise of that unjust Authority, we shall continue from time to time to assert our Rights in occasional solemn Resolves and other publick Acts, never yielding them up, and avoiding even the slightest Expressions that seem confirmatory of the Claim that has been set up against them. My Opinion has long been that Parliament had originally no Right to bind us by any kind of Law whatever without our Consent. We have indeed in a manner consented to some of them, at least tacitly. But for the future methinks we should be cautious how we add to those Instances, and never adopt

or acknowledge an Act of Parliament but by a formal Law of our own, as your General Assembly I think did in the case of the Act of Parliament relating to the Oaths mention'd in the first Paragraph of your Votes; tho' as it stands there, it seems as if the Act of Parliament had required those Oaths to be taken by your Members, and was acknowledged as of force for that purpose.

I do not at present see the least likelihood of preventing the Grant of Salaries or Pensions from hence to the King's Officers in America, by any Application in Behalf of the People there. It is look'd on as a strange thing here to object to the King's paying his own servants sent among us to do his Business; and they say we would seem to have much more Reason of Complaint if it were requir'd of us to pay them. And the more we urge the Impropriety of their not depending on us for their Support, the more Suspicion it breeds that we are desirous of influencing them to betray the Interests of their Master or of his Nation. Indeed if the money is rais'd from among us against our Wills, the Injustice becomes more evident than where it arises from hence. I do not think, however, that the Effect of these Salaries is likely to be so considerable, either in favour of Government here, or in our Prejudice, as may be generally apprehended. The Love of Money is not a Thing of certain Measure, so as that it may be easily filled and satisfied. Avarice is infinite; and where there is not good Œconomy, no Salary, however large, will prevent Necessity. He that has a fixed and what others may think a competent Income, is often as much to be byassed by the Expectation of more, as if he had already none at all. If the Colonies should resolve on giving handsome Presents to good Governors at or

after their Departure, or to their Children after their Decease, I imagine it might produce even better Effects than our present annual Grants. But the Course probably will soon be that the Chief Governor, to whom the Salary is given, will have leave to reside in England; a Lieutenant or Deputy will be left to do the Business and live on the Perquisites, which not being thought quite sufficient, his receiving Presents yearly will be wink'd at through the Interest of his Principal; and thus things will get into the old Train, only this Inconvenience remaining, that while by our Folly in consuming the Duty-Articles the fixed Salary is raised on ourselves without our Consent, we must pay double for the same Service. However, tho' it may be a hopeless Task while the Duties continue sufficient to pay the Salaries, I shall on all proper Occasions make Representations against this new Mode; and if by the Duties falling short the Treasury should be call'd on to pay those Salaries, it is possible they may come to be seen in another Light than at present, and dropt as unnecessary.

I was glad to see that Attention in the general Court to the Improvement of the Militia. A War may happen in which Britain, like Rome of old, may find so much to do for her own Defence as to be unable to spare Troops or Ships for the Protection of her Colonies. A Minister may arise so little our Friend as to neglect that Protection, or to permit Invasions of our Country, in order to make us cry out for Help, and thereby furnish stronger Pretence for maintaining a standing Army among us. If we once lose our military Spirit and supinely depend on an Army of Mercenaries for our Defence, we shall become contemptible; despis'd both by Friends and Enemies, as neither our Friendship nor our Enmity will be

deem'd of any Importance. As our Country is not wealthy so as to afford much ready Plunder, the Temptation to a foreign Invasion of us is the less, and I am persuaded that the Name of a numerous well-disciplined Militia, would alone be almost sufficient to prevent any Thoughts of attempting it. And what a Glory would it be for us to send, on any trying Occasion, ready and effectual Aid to our Mother Country!

I have lately been among the Clothing Towns in Yorkshire, and by conversing with the Manufacturers there, am more and more convinced of the natural Impossibility there is that, considering our Increase in America, England should be able much longer to supply us with Cloathing. Necessity, therefore, as well as Prudence, will soon induce us to seek Resources in our own Industry, which becoming general among the People, encouraged by resolutions of your Court, such as I have the Pleasure of seeing in your late Votes, will do Wonders. Family Manufactures will alone amount to a vast Saving in the Year; and a steady Determination and Custom of buying only of your own Artificers wherever they can supply you, will soon make them more expert in Working, so as to despatch more Business, while constant Employment enables them to afford their Work still cheaper. The lowness of Provisions with us, compar'd with their daily rising Price here, added to the Freight, Risque, and Commissions on the Manufactures of this Country, must give great Advantage to our Workmen, and enable them in time to retain a great deal of Money in the Country, tho' still Trade enough should remain between us and Britain to render our Friendship of the greatest Importance to this Nation.

I was a Subscriber to a Set of Plates published here, entitled *The Senator's Remembrancer*, a Work encouraged by

many Members of both Houses. Having a spare Copy, I beg your Acceptance of it as a small Mark of my Respect, and send it by Captain Jarvis. Should it afford to your already well-furnished Mind no useful Hints in the Management of publick Affairs, it may however be of Service to some young Friend — at least as Copies of fair and elegant Writing.

The Letters I have received from my friends in Boston have lately come to hand, badly sealed, with no distinct Impression, appearing as if they had been opened, and in a very bungling way closed again. I suspect this may be done by some prying Persons that use the Coffee-house here. I therefore mention it that you may, if you think fit, send yours under Cover to some Merchant of Character who would forward them to me more safely.

With great and sincere respect, I have the honour of being, sir, your most obedient and most humble Servant,

B. Franklin.

[*This note is on a slip of paper attached to the preceding letter.*]

Whatever the *Prerogative* may be, with regard to appointing the Place of Meeting for Parliaments and Assemblies, it should be used *only for the good of the people.* Where it is made an Instrument of arbitrary Power to enforce Ministerial Measures to the Prejudice of the People's Rights, such Use of it has justly been condemned. It was one Article of Impeachment against a former evil Minister,[1] that to work his Ends (or the king's) he had caused the Parliament to sit

[1] Or a charge against the king himself. I have not the Book by me from whence this Note was taken, but think it was some Minister of Henry VI. Search the history. — F.

in villibus et remotis partibus Regni, where few People, *propter defectum hospitii et victualium*, could attend, and by shifting that Assembly from Place to Place to enforce (the author's words) *illos paucos qui remanebunt de communitate Regni, concedere Regi quamvis pessima.*

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554. TO JONATHAN SHIPLEY, BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH (A. P. S.)

London, June 24. 1771

My Lord,

I got home in good time, and well. But on perusing the Letters that were come to me from America during my Absence, and considering the Business they require of me, I found it not convenient to return so soon as I had intended. I regret my having been oblig'd to leave that most agreable Retirement which good Mrs. Shipley put me so kindly in possession of. I now breathe with Reluctance the Smoke of London, when I think of the sweet Air of Twyford. And by the Time your Races are over, or about the Middle of next Month, (if it should then not be unsuitable to your Engagements or other Purposes) I promise myself the Happiness of spending another Week or two where I so pleasantly spent the last.

I have taken the Liberty of sending by the Southampton Stage, which goes to-morrow, a Parcel directed to your Lordship, to be left at the Turnpike next beyond Winchester, containing one of my Books for Miss Georgiana, which I hope she will be good enough to accept as a small Mark of my Regard for her philosophic Genius: and a Specimen of the

American dry'd Apples for Mrs. Shipley, that she may judge whether it will be worth while to try the Practice. I doubt some Dust may have got among them, as I found the Cask uncover'd: therefore it will not perhaps be amiss to rinse them a minute or two in warm Water and dry them quick in a Napkin: but this is submitted to her better Judgment. With the greatest Esteem and Respect, and many Thanks for your abundant Civilities, I am, my Lord, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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555. TO NOBLE WIMBERLY JONES[1]

London, July 3, 1771.

SIR,

In mine of May 1st, I enclosed a copy of the petition intended to be presented to the King in Council, in behalf of the possessors of the lands claimed by Sir William Baker's assigns. I am now to acquaint you, that it was presented accordingly, and is referred down to the Board of Trade for their opinion. But, as the Board is about to adjourn for some months, we are advised not to press the consideration of it till they meet again, as they have now too little time to attend to it properly. Immediately on their return to business, we shall urge for their report.

I see by the newspapers that your new Assembly is also dissolved.[2] I am sorry for these differences, which must be uncomfortable to you and all that wish the welfare of the province.

It is now thought that a peace between the Turks and Rus-

[1] First printed by Sparks.

[2] The Assembly of Georgia, of which Mr. Jones was Speaker. — ED.

sians is likely soon to be concluded, which gives a better prospect of the continuance of peace among the other powers of Europe; for it seldom happens that a war, begun between any two of them, does not extend itself sooner or later till it involves the whole. Spain showed a strong inclination to begin with us; but, France being not willing or ready to join her, she has smothered that inclination for the present. With great esteem, I am, Sir, &c.

B. Franklin.

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556. TO CADWALLADER EVANS[1]

London, July 4, 1771.

Dear Doctor,

I acquainted you some time since, that I expected soon to obtain satisfactory answers to your queries relating to the specimens of silk you sent over; but I was disappointed till lately, when I had a meeting with Mr. Patterson, esteemed one of the best judges of that commodity, who favoured me with the enclosed paper, and, in conversation, with the following particulars.

He thinks that the water, though clear at first, may grow foul with the impurities of the cocoons reeled in it, and therefore should be changed as that appears to be the case. He gave me a skein of what is called the best Italian silk imported here, and advised me to send it over as a pattern, for our people to endeavour to imitate, with regard to its evenness, cleanness from nibs, and lustre; and, that they might better see the difference and understand his remarks, he wished the skeins sent over hither might be returned with it. I send them all together accordingly.

[1] Printed from Sparks.

He says the silk reeled from twelve cocoons fetches nearly as good a price as that from six, because it winds well, and there is less *fine waste;* the dropping accidentally, or through inattention, three or four of the cocoons out of twelve not weakening the thread so much in proportion, as when the same number are dropped out of six; nor is the thread so apt to break in winding. I observe that the Italian silk has a sweet smell, as if perfumed. He thinks it is the natural smell of the silk, when prepared in perfection. He understands that the Piedmontese reel is esteemed preferable to Mr. Pullein's. He says we may carry that produce to what length we please. It is impossible to overstock the market, as the demand is continually increasing, silk being more and more worn, and daily entering into the composition of more and a greater variety of manufactures.

I communicated your thanks to Mr. Walpole, who was pleased to assure me he should always be ready to afford the design all the assistance in his power, and will endeavour to procure some eggs for you from Valencia against the next season.

I am much obliged to you for the snuffbox. The wood is beautiful. The manufacturer should be encouraged. I hope our people will not be disheartened by a few accidents, and such disappointments as are incident to all new undertakings, but persevere bravely in the silk business, till they have conquered all difficulties. *By diligence and patience the mouse ate in twain the cable.* It is not two centuries since it was as much a novelty in France, as it is now with us in North America, and the people as much unacquainted with it.

My respects to my good old friend, Mr. Wharton. I hope

he is recovered of the indisposition you mention. With sincere esteem, I am, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and humble servant,

B. Franklin.

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557. TO SAMUEL FRANKLIN[1]

London, July 12, 1771.

Loving Cousin,

I received your kind letter of May 17th, and rejoice to hear, that you and your good family are well. My love to them. With this I send you the print you desire for Mr. Bowen. He does me honour in accepting it.

Sally Franklin presents her duty to you and Mrs. Franklin. Yesterday a very odd accident happened, which I must mention to you, as it relates to your grandfather. A person, that deals in old books, of whom I sometimes buy, acquainted me, that he had a curious collection of pamphlets bound in eight volumes folio, and twenty-four volumes quarto and octavo, which he thought, from the subjects, I might like to have, and that he would sell them cheap. I desired to see them, and he brought them to me. On examining, I found that they contained all the principal pamphlets and papers on public affairs, that had been printed here from the Restoration down to 1715. In one of the blank leaves at the beginning of each volume the collector had written the titles of the pieces contained in it, and the price they cost him. Also notes in the margin of many of the pieces; and the collector, I find, from the handwriting and various other circumstances,

[1] From "A Collection of the Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Franklin" (Sparks), Boston, 1833, p. 140. — Ed.

was your grandfather, my uncle Benjamin. Wherefore, I the more readily agreed to buy them. I suppose he parted with them, when he left England and came to Boston, soon after your father, which was about the year 1716 or 1717, now more than fifty years since. In whose hands they have been all this time I know not. The oddity is, that the bookseller, who could suspect nothing of any relation between me and the collector, should happen to make me the offer of them. My love to your good wife and children. Your affectionate cousin, B. FRANKLIN.

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558. TO JOHN BARTRAM[1]

London, July 17, 1771.

MY GOOD AND DEAR OLD FRIEND,

I received your kind letter of April 29th, wherein you complain of your friends here not writing to you. I had written a letter to you on the 20th of the same month, which I hope is long since come to hand; but I confess I ought to have written sooner, to acknowledge the receipt of the box of seeds, whereby I was much obliged. As to your pension, there is not, I believe, the least reason for you to apprehend its being stopped. I know not who receives it for you here, or I should quicken them in writing to you. But there is no instance in this King's reign of taking away a pension once granted, unless for some great offence. Young is in no esteem here as far as I can learn.

I wish your daughter success with her silkworms. I am persuaded nothing is wanting in our country for the produce of silk, but skill; which will be obtained by persevering till we are instructed by experience.

[1] First printed by Sparks.

You take notice of the failing of your eyesight. Perhaps you have not spectacles that suit you, and it is not easy there to provide one's self. People too, when they go to a shop for glasses, seldom give themselves time to choose with care; and, if their eyes are not rightly suited, they are injured. Therefore I send you a complete set, from number one to thirteen, that you may try them at your ease; and, having pitched on such as suit you best at present, reserve those of higher numbers for future use, as your eyes grow still older; and with the lower numbers, which are for younger people, you may oblige some other friends. My love to good Mrs. Bartram and your children. I am, as ever, your faithful friend and servant, B. Franklin.

P. S. On inquiry, I find your pension continues, and will be regularly paid, as it becomes due, to the person you empower to receive it for you.

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559. TO CADWALLADER EVANS[1]

London, July 18, 1771.

Dear Doctor,

I wrote to you on the 4th instant, and sent you a paper of observations on your specimens of silk, drawn up by Mr. Patterson, who is noted here in that trade, with a specimen of Italian silk as a copy for our people to imitate. But they must not be discouraged if they should not come up to the lustre of it, that being the very finest, and from a particular district in Italy, none other being equal to it from any other district or any other country.

[1] Printed from Sparks.

The European silk I understand is all yellow, and most of the India silk. What comes from China is white. In Ogilby's account of that country, I find that, in the province of Chekiang, "they prune their mulberry trees once a year, as we do our vines in Europe, and suffer them not to grow up to high trees, because through long experience they have learned, that the leaves of the smallest and youngest trees make the best silk, and know thereby how to distinguish the first spinning of the threads from the second, viz. the first is that which comes from the young leaves, that are gathered in March, with which they feed their silkworms; and the second is of the old summer leaves. And it is only the change of food, as to the young and old leaves, which makes the difference in the silk. The prices of the first and second spinning differ among the Chineses. The best silk is that of March, the coarsest of June, yet both in one year." I have copied this passage to show, that in Chekiang they keep the mulberry trees low; but I suppose the reason to be, the greater facility of gathering the leaves. It appears too by this passage, that they raise two crops a year in that province, which may account for the great plenty of silk there. But perhaps this would not answer with us, since it is not practised in Italy, though it might be tried. Chekiang is from twenty-seven to thirty-one degrees of north latitude. Duhalde has a good deal on the Chinese management of the silk business.

Dr. Pullein [1] is an acquaintance of mine. I will forward any letters you may send him. He lives in Ireland, but often comes to London.

As you did not write to Dr. Fothergill, I communicated to him what you wrote in favour of Mr. Parke, who is to wait on

[1] Dr. Samuel Pullein, author of various papers upon silkworms and silk culture. — ED.

him to-morrow. I shall be glad to render the young man any service here.

We had a cold, backward spring here, and it is since the solstice that we have had what may be called a warm day. But the country now looks well with the prospect of great plenty. It is, however, the general opinion, that Britain will not for some years export much corn, great part of the arable land being now enclosed and turned to grass, to nourish the immense number of horses raised for exportation, there being a rage in France and other parts of Europe for English horses, that seems increasing every year.

I hope our friend Galloway will not decline the public service in the Assembly with his private business. Both may be too much for his health; but the first alone will be little more than an amusement. And I do not see that he can be spared from that station, without great detriment to our affairs and to the general welfare of America. I am, with sincere esteem, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. The enclosed notes were given me by Mr. Small, a leading member of the Society of Arts, with a desire that I would send them over to some member of your Philosophical Society; supposing the herbs may be of some use.

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560. TO JONATHAN SHIPLEY (A. P. S.)

July 25. 1771

I SHOULD have been happy in accompanying your Lordship on that agreable Party, or in being at Twyford instead of this dusty Town; but Business kept me here longer than I expected. I now purpose to set out on Tuesday next, if nothing

at present unforeseen does not happen to prevent me. I hope to find the good Family well, which will add greatly to the Pleasure I promise myself in that sweet Retreat. With the greatest Respect, I am,

Your Lordship's most
obedient humble Servt
[B. FRANKLIN.]

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561. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, Augt 14. 1771

MY DEAR CHILD,

I received yours of June 29, by Packet. I am glad to hear of all your Welfares, and that the Pictures &c. were safe arrived. You do not tell me who mounted the great one, nor where you have hung it up. Let me know whether Dr. Bond likes the new one better than the old one; if so, the old one is to be return'd hither to Mr. Wilson, the Painter. You may keep the Frame, as it may be wanted for some other Picture there. I wrote to you the Beginning of last Month, to go by Capt. Falconer, & have since been in the Country, am just come to town, and find him still here, and the Letters not gone. He goes however next Saturday.

I had written to many of my Friends by him. I spent three Weeks in Hampshire at my Friend the Bishop of St. Asaph's. The Bishop's Lady knows what Children and Grandchildren I have, their Ages, &c. So when I was to come away on Monday the 12th in the Morning, she insisted on my staying that one Day longer, that we might together keep my Grandson's Birthday. At Dinner, among other nice Things, we had a Floating Island, which they always particularly have

on the BirthDays of any of their own Six Children; who were all but one at Table, where there was also a Clergyman's Widow now above 100 Years old. The chief Toast of the Day was Master Benjamin Bache, which the venerable old Lady began in a Bumper of Mountain. The Bishop's Lady politely added, *and that he may be as good a Man as his Grandfather.* I said I hop'd he would be *much better.* The Bishop, still more complaisant than his Lady, said, "We will compound the Matter, and be contented if he should not prove *quite so good.*" This Chitchat is to yourself only, in return for some of yours about your Grandson, and must only be read to Sally, and not spoken of to anybody else; for you know how People add and alter silly Stories that they hear, and make them appear ten times more silly.

Just while I am writing the Post brings me the enclos'd from the good Bishop, with some Letters of Recommendation for Ireland, to see which Country I am to set out next week with my old Friend and Fellow Traveller, Counsellor Jackson. We expect to be absent a Month or Six Weeks. The Bishop's youngest Daughter, mention'd in his Letter, is about 11 years of age, and came up with me in the PostChaise to go to her School.

Capt. Osborne is not yet arrived here, but is every day expected. I hope he will come before I set out, that I may hear from you by him. I desire you will push the enquiry after the Lancaster Dutchman, and not let it sleep & be forgotten. I send you by Capt. Falconer a Box of Looking-Glasses for the Closet Door in the little [1] ——

[1] The remainder is mutilated. It was during this visit at the Bishop of St. Asaph's, that Dr. Franklin commenced writing the memoirs of his life, in the form of a letter to his son. — ED.

562. PLAN FOR BENEFITING DISTANT UNPROVIDED COUNTRIES.

BY DR. FRANKLIN AND MR. DALRYMPLE.[1]

AUGUST 29, 1771.

THE country, called in the maps New Zealand, has been discovered, by the Endeavour, to be two islands, together as large as Great Britain; these islands, named Acpy-nomawée and Tovy-poennammoo, are inhabited by a brave and generous race, who are destitute of corn, fowls, and all quadrupeds, except dogs.

These circumstances being mentioned lately in a company of men of liberal sentiments, it was observed, that it seemed incumbent on such a country as this, to communicate to all others the conveniences of life, which we enjoy.

Dr. Franklin, whose life has ever been directed to promote the true interest of society, said, "he would with all his heart *subscribe* to a voyage intended to communicate *in general* those benefits which we enjoy, to countries destitute of them in the remote parts of the globe." This proposition being warmly adopted by the rest of the company, Mr. Dalrymple,

[1] These proposals were printed upon a sheet of paper, and distributed. The parts written by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Dalrymple are easily distinguished. — V.

The "Plan" was reprinted in "Ephemerides des Citoyen," Vol. II. Baron F. de Westerhalt, of Zutphen, read it there, and, "filled with admiration for such universal benevolence," sent four Holland ducats to Franklin, explaining that he was a poor gentleman with a large family, but he trusted that Franklin would not scorn his small contribution. See letter to F., Nov. 12, 1772 (A. P. S.). Alexander Dalrymple (1737–1808) was hydrographer to the Admiralty. — ED.

then present, was induced to offer to undertake the command in such an expedition.

On mature reflection, this scheme appears the most honourable to the national character of any which can be conceived, as it is grounded on the noblest principle of benevolence. Good intentions are often frustrated by letting them remain undigested; on this consideration, Mr. Dalrymple was induced to put the outlines on paper, which are now published, that, by an early communication, there may be a better opportunity of collecting all the hints which can conduce to execute effectually the benevolent purpose of the expedition, in case it should meet with general approbation.

On this scheme being shown to Dr. Franklin, he communicated his sentiments, by way of introduction, to the following effect;

"Britain is said to have produced originally nothing but *sloes*. What vast advantages have been communicated to her by the fruits, seeds, roots, herbage, animals, and arts of other countries! We are, by their means, become a wealthy and a mighty nation, abounding in all good things. Does not some *duty* hence arise from us towards other countries, still remaining in our former state?

"Britain is now the first maritime power in the world. Her ships are innumerable, capable, by their form, size, and strength, of sailing on all seas. Our seamen are equally bold, skilful, and hardy; dexterous in exploring the remotest regions, and ready to engage in voyages to unknown countries, though attended with the greatest dangers. The inhabitants of those countries, our *fellow men*, have canoes only; not knowing iron, they cannot build ships; they have little astronomy, and no knowledge of the compass to guide them;

they cannot therefore come to us, or obtain any of our advantages. From these circumstances, does not some duty seem to arise from us to them? Does not Providence, by these distinguishing favours, seem to call on us, to do something ourselves for the common interest of humanity?

"Those who think it their duty to ask bread and other blessings daily from Heaven, would they not think it equally a duty to communicate of those blessings when they have received them, and show their gratitude to their great Benefactor by the only means in their power, promoting the happiness of his other children?

"Ceres is said to have made a journey through many countries to teach the use of corn, and the art of raising it. For this single benefit the grateful nations deified her. How much more may Englishmen deserve such honour, by communicating the knowledge and use, not of corn only, but of all the other enjoyments the earth can produce, and which they are now in possession of. *Communiter bona profundere, Deûm est.*

"Many voyages have been undertaken with views of profit or of plunder, or to gratify resentment; to procure some advantage to ourselves, or do some mischief to others. But a voyage is now proposed, to visit a distant people on the other side the globe; not to cheat them, not to rob them, not to seize their lands, or enslave their persons; but merely to do them good, and make them, as far as in our power lies, to live as comfortably as ourselves.

"It seems a laudable wish, that all the nations of the earth were connected by a knowledge of each other, and a mutual exchange of benefits; but a commercial nation particularly should wish for a general civilization of mankind, since trade

is always carried on to much greater extent with people who have the arts and conveniences of life, than it can be with naked savages. We may therefore hope, in this undertaking, to be of some service to our country as well as to those poor people, who, however distant from us, are in truth related to us, and whose interests do, in some degree, concern every one who can say, *Homo sum*, &c."

Scheme of a voyage by subscription, to convey the conveniences of life, as fowls, hogs, goats, cattle, corn, iron, &c., to those remote regions, which are destitute of them, and to bring from thence such productions, as can be cultivated in this kingdom, to the advantage of society, in a ship under the command of Alexander Dalrymple.

Catt or bark, from the coal trade, of 350 tons, estimated at about		£2,000
Extra expenses, stores, boats, &c. . . .		3,000
To be manned with sixty men at £4 per man per month, . . .	£240	
	12	
	£2,880 per annum.	
	3	
Wages and provisions	£8,640 for three years	8,640
		13,640
Cargo included, supposed		£15,000

The expenses of this expedition are calculated for *three* years; but the greatest part of the amount of wages will not be wanted till the ship returns, and a great part of the expense of provisions will be saved by what is obtained in the

course of the voyage, by barter or otherwise, though it is proper to make provision for contingencies.

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563. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN[1]

Edinburgh, Oct. 27. 1771.

Dear Friend

Thro' Storms and Floods I arrived here on Saturday night, late, and was lodg'd miserably at an Inn: But that excellent Christian David Hume, agreable to the Precepts of the Gospel, has *received the* Stranger, and I now live with him at his House in the new Town most happily. I purpose staying about a Fortnight, and shall be glad to hear from you. I congratulate you on certain political Events that I know give you Pleasure. Let me know how it is with you and yours, how my Wife does and Sir John Pringle, and our other Friends.

With sincerest Esteem I am, my dear Friend

Yours most affectionately

B. Franklin

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564. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN[2]

Edinburgh, November 17, 1771.

Dear Sir: — I have been at Blair Drummond on a visit to my friend Lord Kames, thence I went to Glasgow, thence to Carron Works, viewing the Canal by the way. Extreme

[1] From the private collection of Hon. S. W. Pennypacker. — Ed.

[2] From John Bigelow, "The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," New York, 1887, Vol. IV, p. 423. — Ed.

bad weather detained me in several places some days longer than I intended. But on Tuesday I purpose setting out on my return, and hope for the pleasure of seeing you by the Tuesday following. I thank you for your kind congratulations on the news you have heard. I like immortal friendships, but not immortal enmities; and therefore kill the latter whenever I have a good opportunity, thinking it no murder. I am but just come back hither, and write this line just to let you know I am well and again under the hospitable roof of the good Samaritan. As to news, which you seem to expect from me, I protest I know of none, and I am too dull for invention. My love to Mrs. Strahan and your children, and believe me, ever, my dear friend, Yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

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565. TO MRS. MARY HEWSON[1] (P. C.)

Preston, Nov. 25, 1771.

DEAR FRIEND,

I came to this Place on Saturday night, right well, and untir'd with a 70 miles' Journey that day. I met with your and my Dolly's joint Letter, which would have refreshed me with its kindness, if I had been ever so weary.

The Account you give of a certain Lady's having entertain'd a new Gallant, in my Absence, did not surprize me; for I have been us'd to Rivals, and scarce ever had a Friend or a Mistress in my whole Life, that other People did not like as well as myself. And, therefore, I did not wonder, when I read in the Newspapers some Weeks since, that "the Duke of C." (that general Lover) "had made many Visits

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — ED.

of late to an old Lady not many Miles from Craven Street." I only wonder'd, considering the Dislike she us'd to have for the Family, that she would receive his Visits. But as I saw, soon after, that Prince Charles had left Rome, and was gone a long Journey, nobody knew whither, I made no doubt but the Newswriters had mistaken the Person, and that it was he, who had taken the Opportunity of my Absence to solace himself with his old Friend.

I thank you for your Intelligence about my Godson. I believe you are sincere, when you say you think him as fine a Child as you wish to see. He had cut two Teeth, and three, in another Letter, make five; for I know you never write Tautologies. If I have over-reckon'd, the Number will be right by this Time. His being like me in so many Particulars pleases me prodigiously; and I am persuaded there is another, which you have omitted, tho' it must have occurr'd to you while you were putting them down. Pray let him have every thing he likes; I think it of great Consequence while the Features of the Countenance are forming; it gives them a pleasant Air, and, that being once become natural and fix'd by Habit, the Face is ever after the handsomer for it, and on that much of a Person's good Fortune and Success in Life may depend. Had I been cross'd as much in my Infant Likings and Inclinations as you know I have been of late Years, I should have been, I was going to say, not near so handsome; but as the Vanity of that Expression would offend other Folk's Vanity, I change it, out of regard to them, and say, a great deal more homely.

I rejoice that your good Mother's new Regimen succeeds so well with her. We are to set out, my Son and I, to-morrow for London, where I hope to be by the End of the Week,

and to find her, and you, and all yours well and happy. My Love to them all. They tell me Dinner is coming in, and I have yet said nothing to Dolly; but must nevertheless conclude, my dear Friend, yours ever most affectionately,

B. Franklin.

P. S. I am very happy here in the pleasant Family of Mr. Bache's Mother and Sister. Dear Dolly, I love you more than you can imagine, Yours most sincerely,

B. F.

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566. TO SIR ALEXANDER DICK (L. L.)

London, Jan. 11. 1772.

Dear Sir,

My last Expedition convinc'd me that I grow too old for Rambling, and that 'twas probable I should never make such another Journey. — 'Tis an uncomfortable Thing, the Parting with Friends one hardly expects ever again to see. This, with some occasional Hindrances, prevented my calling at Preston Field after my Return from Glasgow: But my Heart was with you and your dear Family, and my best Wishes attended you all. — Sir John Pringle rejoic'd with me on the Account I gave him of the Recovery of your Health, which I pray God may long continue. — Pray present my respectful Compliments to Lady Dick, & to Miss Dick. Many happy New Years to you & all yours. — I am, with the sincerest Esteem, Dear Friend,

Yours most affectionately

B. Franklin

567. TO MRS. JANE MECOM[1]

London, January 13, 1772.

My dear Sister,

I received your kind letters of September 12th and November 9th. I have now been some weeks returned from my journey through Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and the North of England, which, besides being an agreeable tour with a pleasant companion, has contributed to the establishment of my health; and this is the first ship I have heard of, by which I could write to you.

I thank you for the receipts; they are as full and particular as one could wish; but they can easily be practised only in America, no bayberry wax, nor any Brasiletto, being here to be had, at least to my knowledge. I am glad, however, that those useful arts, which have so long been in our family, are now put down in writing. Some future branch may be the better for it.

It gives me pleasure, that those little things sent by Jonathan proved agreeable to you. I write now to cousin Williams to press the payment of the bond. There has been forbearance enough on my part; seven years or more, without receiving any principal or interest. It seems as if the debtor was like a whimsical man in Pennsylvania, of whom it was said that, it being against his principle to pay interest, and against his interest to pay the principal, he paid neither one nor the other.

I doubt you have taken too old a pair of glasses, being

[1] From "A Collection of the Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Franklin" (Sparks), Boston, 1833, p. 145.—Ed.

tempted by their magnifying greatly. But people in choosing should only aim at remedying the defect. The glasses that enable them to see *as well*, at the *same distance* they used to hold their book or work, while their eyes were good, are those they should choose; not such as make them see *better*, for such contribute to hasten the time when still older glasses will become necessary.

All, who have seen my grandson, agree with you in their accounts of his being an uncommonly fine boy, which brings often afresh to my mind the idea of my son Franky,[1] though now dead thirty-six years, whom I have seldom since seen equalled in every thing, and whom to this day I cannot think of without a sigh. Mr. Bache is here; I found him at Preston, in Lancashire, with his mother and sisters, very agreeable people, and I brought him to London with me. I very much like his behaviour. He returns in the next ship to Philadelphia. The gentleman, who brought your last letter, Mr. Fox, stayed but a few minutes with me, and has not since called, as I desired him to do.

I shall endeavour to get the arms you desire for cousin Coffin. Having many letters to write, I can now only add my love to cousin Jenny, and that I am, as ever, your affectionate brother,

B. Franklin.

P. S. Sally Franklin presents her duty. Mrs. Stevenson desires to be affectionately remembered. No arms of the Folgers are to be found in the Herald's Office. I am persuaded it was originally a Flemish family, which came over with many others from that country in Queen Elizabeth's time, flying from the persecution then raging there.

[1] His son, Francis Folger, who died when four years of age. — S.

568. TO THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE IN MASSACHUSETTS[1]

London, January 13, 1772.

GENTLEMEN,

On my return from a late tour through Ireland and Scotland, for the establishment of my health, I found your respected letter of June 25th, with the papers therein referred to, relating to the townships settled eastward of Penobscot River. I immediately waited on Mr. Bollan to consult with him, agreeably to your instructions, who informed me, that, in my absence, he had by himself thoroughly considered the same, having formerly had occasion to be acquainted with the whole affair, and he suggested to his constituents, the Council, a plan of accommodation to be proposed to government here, if they should approve of it; and that he hoped by the meeting of Parliament (before which, little public business is done here, so many of the Lords of the Council being out of town,) he might have their answer; and it would otherwise be to little purpose to attempt any thing sooner. I make no doubt but the proposal has been communicated to the House of Representatives, if they have since had a meeting, and that we may soon receive their further instructions thereon.

The town now begins to fill with members of Parliament, and great officers of state coming in daily to celebrate the Queen's birthday, and be present at the opening of the session, which is fixed for next Tuesday. It is given out, that nothing relating to America is likely to be agitated this ses-

[1] First published by Sparks.

sion; that is, there is no purpose either to abrogate the old duties or lay new ones. For the first, I am sorry, believing as I do, that no harmony can be restored between the two countries, while these duties are continued. This, with the other aggrievances mentioned in your letters of June 29th, and July 13th, your agents will constantly attend to, and take every step possible in their present situation, unacknowledged as they are here, to obtain the redress, that is so justly your due, and which it would be so prudent in government here to grant.

In yours of July 9th it is mentioned, that the House desire I would annually send an account of the expense I am at, in carrying on the affairs of the province. Having business to do for several colonies, almost every time I go to the public offices, and to the ministers, I have found it troublesome to keep an account of small expenses, such as coach and chair hire, stationery, &c., and difficult to divide them justly. Therefore I have some time since omitted keeping any account, or making any charge of them, but content myself with such salaries, grants, and allowances, as have been made me. Where considerable sums have been disbursed, as in fees to counsel, payment of solicitors' bills, and the like, those I charge. But as yet I have made no such disbursements on the account of your province. Please to present my duty to the House of Representatives, and believe me to be, with great esteem and respect, Gentlemen, &c.

B. Franklin.

569. FROM SAMUEL COOPER TO B. FRANKLIN

(B. M.)

Boston, July 10, 1771.

DEAR SIR,

I should sooner have acknowledged the receipt of your Favours of Decem^r 30 and Feb'ry 5 had not the state of my health called me out of Town and obliged me to be sparing in writing. My thanks are due to you for writing to me with so much freedom, and I endeavour to make the best use of what you communicate to me. Your interposition in favor of the charter was kind, and must endear you to every true friend of the province. But what shall we say of those, who were capable of forming or promoting such a design? Can we suppose them possessed of such ideas and principles, as entitle them to influence the councils of a great nation?

I could not but regard with a revengeful pleasure the figure, which the Secretary made in his conversation with my friend. He must have been uneasy, not only from an apprehension of losing his place, but from feeling also his own littleness; and his self-sufficiency, for a moment at least, must have been suspended amidst all the pomp and parade of his office. His measures respecting this province exactly answer the picture you have given of him; and, while we have in the American department a man, of a size and temper to be a tool of Sir Francis,[1] his Majesty's service here will be perpetually embarrassed.

The project, for making governors independent for their salaries upon the grants of the people they govern, gives great uneasiness to the most considerate friends of the constitution. The reasons you mention against it are I think unanswerable. It was taken for granted, when the charter was received here, that the governor was to be supported by the free gift of the province, and this was doubtless one reason for acquiescing in a compact, that gave so great a power and influence to the crown; and, accordingly, this has been the manner in which the representatives of the crown have constantly been supported. It is a strong connexion between the ruler and the people, tending in every view to promote the great end of government, and the want of which no expedient can supply. The civil list is the free grant of a British Parliament, and is augmented from time to time at their pleasure, but the American revenue is not the gift of the American Assemblies; it is extorted from them by mere power, contrary to their just remonstrances and humble petitions. And, though the Assembly may make a grant to a good governor, at the close of his administration, yet it is in the power of the crown to cut off from the people this very small resource of influence, by obliging its representative not

[1] Sir Francis Bernard. — ED.

to accept such a grant, while, by its absolute appointment of him, it is absolute master of his conduct; nor can there be any pretence for this threatening innovation from the conduct of our provincial Assembly upon this point. For even, in the highest political contest with Sir Francis Bernard, so sensible were the House of the importance of supporting the King's governor, while he remained in office, that they never once proposed to diminish or delay, much less to deny, his salary; and surely it is to be hoped, that the Assembly will never meet with a stronger provocation to such a measure, than they did in him.

I cannot forbear to add, though writing to one who has a much more thorough comprehension of the subject than myself, that this proposed, and, I am afraid, determined independence, is impolitic on the part of the crown, and tends to prejudice its interest, even considered separately from that of the people; as it will prove a strong temptation to governors to hold a conduct, that will greatly lessen their esteem and influence in the province, and consequently their power to promote the service of the King. Caution and watchfulness in governors, and some regard to the interest, and even the inclinations and humours, of the people, must, I think, be a security to the prerogative; but independence will take off this guard, and lead them to be inattentive to, if not directly to encourage and promote, such things as will still further weaken the political connexion between the parent country and the colonies; so that, the ministry, upon I hope cool consideration, may be induced to lay aside this measure, as they wish the continuance of the constitutional powers of the crown, and that it may long retain the peaceful and happy government of America.

I doubt not of your exerting your abilities and influence for so good a purpose; and, should you succeed, you will do a most important and obliging service to the province. But what are we to expect, when the means of self-defence upon such great points are to be taken from us, and no public moneys are allowed for the support of an agent, unless he be under the controul of the chair?

You will no doubt be particularly informed of a new point, that has alarmed us as much as any thing, and is regarded almost universally as an undisguised violation of a fundamental principle of the charter. I mean the governor's refusing to sign the supply bill, because the Commissioners[1] were not exempted by it from taxes. The crown grants by charter, that the General Assembly shall have full power and authority to impose rates and taxes upon all and every the proprietors and inhabitants of the province. No persons, however related to the crown, are excepted. The King now says, by his instructions, no supply bill shall be passed, unless the Commissioners are exempted. Is not this to claim a right to rescind by instruction what was

[1] Commissioners appointed by the government to collect the customs in America. — S.

solemnly ceded by charter and compact? The governor may indeed refuse his assent to a supply bill; but can he do it upon a declared principle subversive of the capital privileges of the charter, and only because they exercise the power and authority granted them in it? If the crown can exempt five persons, it may with equal right five hundred; not only the Commissioners, but all judges, justices, clerks of courts, constables, and all friends to government, as men of slavish principles affect to be called, and leave the whole burden of taxes upon those, who wish well to the rights of their country.

In this manner people reason here. But "out of the eater cometh forth meat." Good may arise from this. It is bold and open, and strikes every size of men. It is not a point confined to trade; it regards in itself, and much more in its tendency, the pocket of the farmer, and the farmer will regard his pocket. It shows the disposition of the Commissioners, who, for such a trifle, as the tax they pay, and which perhaps affects their pride much more than their purse, have started a new and important subject of contention; and how fit they are for that influence in governmental measures, which they have so long and so mysteriously possessed.

I long to see your treatise, showing that every lady of Genoa is not Queen of Corsica. I doubt not you will be able to prove your point. But though I believe you capable of confuting a whole island of queens, I fear whether you could persuade them silently to renounce their crowns and sceptres. I am, Sir, with the greatest esteem, and Attachment

Your obedient, etc.

SAMUEL COOPER.

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570. TO SAMUEL COOPER (A. P. S.) (B. M.)

London, Jan. 13. 1772

DEAR SIR,

I have now before me your several favours of July 10. Aug. 23. and Nov. 5. A long Journey I took in the Summer and Autumn, for the Establishment of my Health, prevented my answering sooner the two first. I hope the State of your Health is also mended by your Retirement into the Country, as mine has sensibly been by that Journey.

You have furnished me with a very good additional Argument against the Crown's paying its Governors, viz. "that

this propos'd Independence is impolitic on the part of the Crown, and tends to prejudice its Interest, even considered separately from that of the People, as it will prove a strong temptation to Governors to hold a Conduct that will greatly lessen their Esteem and Influence in the Province, and consequently their Power to promote the Service of the King." Indeed the making it a Rule among ourselves that the Governor is to have his Salary from our Assemblies, tho' his publick Conduct should be wilfully and maliciously prejudicial to the Province, has the *same Tendency;* of which the Conduct of Governor Barnard, while he was constantly and regularly paid [by] us, is a considerable Proof. And therefore in my Opinion, if we would have our Power of granting the Support operate with any Weight in maintaining an Influence with the Governor, it should have been withheld from him, & we should withold it in Part or in the Whole according to Circumstances, as often as such a Conduct appears in any Governor. Otherwise the Power, if in such Cases it is not to be used, would seem of very little Importance. And since the Assembly have of late Years, and under such great Provocations, never attempted to abridge or withhold the Salary, no Reason appears why the Am^{n} Minister, should now think it necessary or adviseable for the Crown to take the Payment of its Governor upon itself, unless it be with an Intention to Influence him, by witholding it when he declines executing arbitrary Instructions; and then in such Cases the People should be sure to compensate him. As to procuring here any Change of this Measure, I frankly own that I despair of it, while the Administration of American Affairs continues in the hands of Lord H.[1] and while by our

[1] Lord Hillsborough. — Ed.

Paying the Duties there is a sufficient American Fund out of which such Salaries can be satisfied. The Failure of that Fund, would be the most likely means of demolishing the Project.

The Attempt to get the Commissioners exempted from the Payment of their Taxes, by an Instruction to the Governor, is the most indiscrete Thing, surely, to say nothing of its Injustice, that any prudent Government was ever guilty of. I cannot think it will be persisted in. I hope it will never be comply'd with. If the Supply Bill is duly offered without the Clause, I am persuaded it will not long be refused. The Publick must however suffer in the mean time by the want of the Supply; but that will be a good Foundation for an Impeachment here. Your Reasonings against the Instruction are unanswerable, [and shall appear here just before the meeting of Parliament.[1]]

I am glad that Commodore Gambier [2] behav'd in so satisfactory a Manner. His Uncle Mr. Mead, first Commissioner of the Customs, is a particular and intimate Friend of mine, a Man of great Moderation and Prudence; I knew that he gave his Nephew, before he went hence, a great deal of good Advice with regard to his Conduct among the People of Boston, for whom he has a great Esteem and Regard, having formerly commanded a Frigate stationed there; and he is happy to find by your Letter (which I communicated to him) that his Advice was so well followed. He gave also equally good Advice to your indiscrete Com-

[1] In the British Museum copy this clause reads: "& will be of use in the discussing that business." — Ed.

[2] James Gambier (1723–1789), commander-in-chief on the North American station (1770–1773). — Ed.

missioners when they were sent out, but they had not Sense enough to follow it, and therefore have been the Authors of infinite Mischief. I wonder at the Invention of so improbable a Lye, as that I should desire a Place among them, who am daily urging the Expediency of their Dissolution. The other Calumny you mention, contain'd in an anonymous Letter to the Speaker is so weak, that I believe you do not think that I ought to take any notice of it.[1]

As to the Agency, whether I am re-chosen or not, and whether the Gen. Assembly is ever permitted to pay me or not, I shall nevertheless continue to exert myself in behalf of my Country, as long, as I see a [Probability][2] of my being able to do it any Service. I have nothing to ask or expect of Ministers. I have, thanks to God, a Competency, [for the little Time I may expect to live,][3] and am grown too old for Ambition of every other kind but that of leaving a good Name behind me.

Your Story of the Clergyman and Proclamation is a Pleasant one. I can only match it with one I had from my Father, I know not if it was ever printed. Charles the First ordered his Proclamation authorizing Sports on a Sunday to be read in all Churches. Many Clergymen comply'd, some refus'd, and others hurry'd it thro' as indistinctly as possible. But one, whose Congregation expected no such thing from him, did nevertheless to their great Surprize, read it distinctly.

[1] Dr. Cooper had written: "Speaker Cushing shewed me this morning an anonymous letter, directed to him as from London in a feigned hand, representing you as a tool of Lord H. Whether it originated on this or your side of the water is uncertain. It will make no impression to your disadvantage, but rather confirm the opinion of your importance, while it shows the baseness of its author."—*August 23d*, 1771. The original letter is in the British Museum. — Ed.

[2] Probability (B. M.) Possibility (A. P. S.). — Ed. [3] B. M. — Ed.

He follow'd it however with the Fourth Commandment, *Remember to keep holy the Sabbath Day*, and then said, "Bretheren, I have laid before you the Command of your King, and the Commandment of your God. I leave it to yourselves to judge which of the two ought rather to be observed." With great and sincere esteem, I remain, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant

B. FRANKLIN.

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571. TO JAMES BOWDOIN (A. P. S.)

London, Jan. 13. 1772.

DEAR SIR,

I should very readily have recommended your Son to the Care of my Friend Dr. Priestly if he had continued to superintend the Academy at Warrington: But he has left that Charge some time since, and is now Pastor of a Congregation at Leeds in Yorkshire. I am much obliged to you for introducing me to the Acquaintance of Mr. Erving,[1] who appears a very intelligent, sensible Man.

The Governing of Colonies by Instructions has long been a favourite Point with Ministers here. About 30 Years since, in a Bill brought into Parliament relating to America, they inserted a Clause to make the King's Instructions *Laws* in the Colonies, which being oppos'd by the then Agents, was thrown out. And I well remember a Conversation with Lord Granville soon after my Arrival here, in which he expressed himself on that Subject in the following Terms; "Your American Assemblies slight the King's Instructions, pretending that they are not Laws. The Instructions, sent over to

[1] Ewing? — ED.

your Governors, are not like the Pocket Instructions given to Embassadors, to be observ'd at their Discretion as Circumstances may require. They are drawn up by grave Men learned in the Laws and Constitutions of the Realm; they are brought into Council, thoroughly weigh'd, well considered, and amended if necessary by the Wisdom of that Body; and when receiv'd by the Governors, are the Law of the Land; for the King is the *Legislator of the Colonies*."

I remember this the better, because being new Doctrine to me, I put it down as soon as I return'd to my Lodging. To be sure if a Governor thinks himself oblig'd to obey all Instructions, whether consistent or inconsistent with the Constitution, Laws and Rights of the Country he governs, and can proceed to govern in that Train, there is an End of the Constitution, and those Rights are abolish'd. But I wonder, that any honest Gentleman can think there is Honour in being a Governor on such Terms. And I think the Practice cannot possibly continue, especially if oppos'd with Spirit by our Assemblies. At present no Attention is paid by the American Minister to any Agent here whose Appointment is not ratified by the Governor's Assent; and if this is persisted in, you can have none to serve you in publick Character that do not render themselves agreable to these Ministers; those otherwise appointed can only promote your Interests by Conversation as private Gentlemen or by Writing.

Virginia had, as you observe, two Agents, one for the Council, the other for the Assembly; but I think the latter only was considered as Agent for the Province. He was appoint'd by an Act, which expired in the time of Lord Botetourt, and was not revived. The other I apprehend continues, but I am not well acquainted with the Nature of his Appointment.

I only understand that he does not concern himself much with the general Affairs of the Colony.

It gives me great Pleasure that my Book afforded any to my Friends. I esteem those Letters of yours among its brightest Ornaments; and have the Satisfaction to find, that they add greatly to the Reputation of American Philosophy.

There is in the Governor's Collection of Papers relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, published 1769, a Copy of an Answer made by Randolph to several *Heads of Enquiry*, which I take to be the same with those I sent you.[1] I shall be very glad to have an Account of the

[1] Dr. Franklin had sent to Mr. Bowdoin a set of *Queries*, respecting the state of affairs in New England, which were given to Edward Randolph by the ministry, when he was about to visit Massachusetts in 1676. Randolph returned answers to them the same year. The Queries and Answers are contained in Hutchinson's "Collection of Papers," p. 477. Accompanying the Queries, Randolph received an estimate, which is said to have been drawn from the best sources of information. A copy of this Estimate was obtained by Dr. Franklin, and sent to Mr. Bowdoin. It is curious as a historical document, and has the merit of brevity. Its date is fifty-six years after the first settlement of Plymouth.

"There are in New England about 120,000 souls; 13,000 families; 16,000 that can bear arms; 12 ships of between 100 and 220 tons; 190, of between 20 and 100 tons; 440 fisherboats of about 6 tons each.

"There are 5 iron works, which cast no guns; 15 merchants, worth about £5000, one with another; 500 persons, worth £3000 each. No house in New England hath above 20 rooms; not 20 in Boston, which have above 10 rooms each. About 1500 families in Boston. The worst cottages in New England are lofted. No beggars; not 3 put to death for theft.

"About 35 rivers and harbours. About 23 islands and fishing-places. The three provinces of Boston, Maine, and Hampshire are three fourths of the whole in wealth and strength; the other four provinces of Plymouth, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Kennebec being but one quarter of the whole in effect. Not above three of their military men have ever been actual soldiers, but many are such soldiers as the artillerymen at London. Amongst their magistrates, Leverett, the governor, Major Dennison, Major

present Number of rateables, when you can obtain it for me.

In Ireland among the Patriots I din'd with Dr. Lucas.[1] They are all Friends of America, in which I said every thing I could think of to confirm them. Lucas gave Mr. Bowdoin of Boston for his Toast. My best respects to Mrs. Bowdoin. With sincere and great Esteem, I am, dear Sir, &c.

B. Franklin.

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572. TO DR. JOSHUA BABCOCK (A. P. S.)

London, Jan. 13. 1772

Dear Sir,

It was with great Pleasure I learnt by Mr. Marchant, that you & Mrs. Babcock and all your good Family continue well & happy. I hope I shall find you all in the same State when I next come your Way, and take Shelter as often heretofore under your hospitable Roof. The Colonel, I am told, continues an active and able Farmer, the most honourable of all Employments, in my opinion, as being the most useful in itself, and rend'ring the Man most independent. My Namesake, his Son, will soon I hope be able to drive the Plough for him.

Clarke, and Mr. Broadstreet are the most popular. And amongst their ministers, Mr. Thatcher, Mr. Oxenbridge, and Mr. Higginson.

"There are no musicians by trade. One dancing school was set up, but put down. A fencing school is allowed. All cordage, sailcloth, and nets come from England. No cloth made there worth above 4*s.* a yard; nor linen worth above 2*s.* 6*d.* No allum, nor copperas, nor salt by the sun.

"They take an oath of fidelity to the governor, but none to the King. The governor is chosen by every freeman. A freeman must be orthodox, above twenty years of age, and worth about £200." — S.

[1] Dr. Charles Lucas (1713–1771), Irish patriot. — Ed.

I have lately made a Tour thro' Ireland and Scotland. In those Countries a small Part of the Society are Landlords, great Noblemen, and Gentlemen, extreamly opulent, living in the highest Affluence and Magnificence: The Bulk of the People Tenants, extreamly poor, living in the most sordid Wretchedness, in dirty Hovels of Mud and Straw, and cloathed only in Rags.

I thought often of the Happiness of New England, where every Man is a Freeholder, has a Vote in publick Affairs, lives in a tidy, warm House, has plenty of good Food and Fewel, with whole cloaths from Head to Foot, the Manufacture perhaps of his own Family. Long may they continue in this Situation! But if they should ever envy the Trade of these Countries, I can put them in a Way to obtain a Share of it. Let them with three fourths of the People of Ireland live the Year round on Potatoes and Buttermilk, without Shirts, then may their Merchants export Beef, Butter, and Linnen. Let them, with the Generality of the Common People of Scotland, go Barefoot, then may they make large Exports in Shoes and Stockings: And if they will be content to wear Rags, like the Spinners and Weavers of England, they may make Cloths and Stuffs for all Parts of the World.

Farther, if my Countrymen should ever wish for the honour of having among them a gentry enormously wealthy, let them sell their Farms & pay rack'd Rents; the Scale of the Landlords will rise as that of the Tenants is depress'd, who will soon become poor, tattered, dirty, and abject in Spirit. Had I never been in the American Colonies, but was to form my Judgment of Civil Society by what I have lately seen, I should never advise a Nation of Savages to admit of Civilization: For I assure you, that, in the Possession & Enjoyment of the

various Comforts of Life, compar'd to these People every Indian is a Gentleman: And the Effect of this kind of Civil Society seems only to be, the depressing Multitudes below the Savage State that a few may be rais'd above it. My best Wishes attend you and yours, being ever, with great Esteem, Dear Sir, etc. B. [FRANKLIN.]

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573. TO THOMAS CUSHING[1] (P. R. O.) (A. P. S.)

London, Jan. 13, 1772.

SIR,

I am now return'd again to London from a Journey of some Months in Ireland and Scotland. Tho' my Constitution, and too great Confinement to Business during the Winter, seem to require the Air and Exercise of a long Journey once a Year, which I have now practised for more than 20 Years past, yet I should not have been out so long this Time, but that I was well assured the Parliament would not meet till towards the End of January, before which Meeting few of the principal People would be in Town, and no Business of importance likely to be agitated relating to America.

I have now before me your esteemed Favours of June 24. July 9, Sept. 25 and Oct. 2. In the first you mention, that the General Assembly was still held out of its antient and only convenient Seat, the Townhouse in Boston, and by the latest Papers from thence I see, that it was prorogu'd again to meet in Cambridge, wch I a little wonder at, when I recollect a

[1] The original of this letter is in London (P. R. O. A. W. I. 684). It is endorsed "very remarkable and requires no commentary." It also exists in an incomplete draft in A. P. S. Sparks printed from the draft. — ED.

Question ask'd me by my Lord H. in Ireland, viz. Whether I had heard from New England lately, since the Gen. Court was return'd to Boston? From this I concluded, Orders had been transmitted by his Lordship for that removal. Perhaps such may have been sent, to be used discretionally. I think I have before mentioned to you one of the Articles of Impeachment brought against a bad Minister of a former King; "That to work his Ends he had caused the Parliament to sit *in Villibus et remotis partibus Regni*, where few People, *propter defectum hospitii et victualium*, could attend, thereby to force *illos paucos, qui remanebunt de communitate regni, concedere regi quamvis pessima*." Lord Clarendon, too, was impeach'd for endeavouring to introduce arbitrary Government into the Colonies.

Lord H.[1] seems, by the late Instructions, to have been treading in the Paths, that lead to the same unhappy Situation, if the Parliament here should ever again feel for the Colonies. Being in Dublin, at the same Time with his Lordship, I met with him accidentally at the Lord Lieutenant's, who had happened to invite us to dine with a large Company on the same Day. As there is something curious in our Interview in Ireland I must give you an Account of it. He was surprizingly civil, and urg'd my fellow Traveller and me to call at his House in our intended Journey Northwards where we might be sure of better Accommodations than the Inns would afford us. He press'd us so politely, that it was not easy to refuse, without apparent Rudeness, as we must pass through his town, Hillsborough, and by his Door; and therefore, as it might afford an Opportunity of saying something on American Affairs, I concluded to comply with his Invitation.

[1] Hillsborough. — Ed.

His Lord[p] went home some time before we left Dublin. We call'd upon him, and were detain'd at his House four Days, during which time he entertain'd us with great Civility, and a particular Attention to me that appear'd the more extraordinary, as I knew that just before I left London he had express'd himself concerning me in very angry Terms, calling me a Republican, a factious, mischievous Fellow, and the like.

In our Conversations he first show'd himself a good Irishman, blaming England for its Narrowness towards that Country in restraining its Commerce, discouraging its Woollen Manufacture, etc. And when I apply'd his Observations to America, he said he had always been of Opinion, that the Subjects in every Part of the King's Dominions had a natural Right to make the best Use they could of the Productions of their Country, and that America ought not to be restrain'd in manufacturing any thing she could manufacture to Advantage; that he suppos'd, that, at present, she found generally more Profit in Agriculture; but, whenever she found that less profitable, or a particular Manufacture more so, he had no Objection to her persuing it; and he censur'd Lord Chatham for affecting in his Speech, that the Parliament had a Right or ought to restrain Manufactures in the Colonies; adding, that, as he knew the English were apt to be jealous on that head, he avoided every thing that might enflame that Jealousy; and, therefore, tho' the Commons had requested the Crown to order the Governors to send over annually Accounts of such Manufactures, as were undertaken in the Colonies, yet, as they had not ordered such Accounts to be annually laid before them, he should never produce them till they were call'd for.

Then he gave me to understand, that the Bounty on Silk

raised in America was a Child of his, and he hoped would prove of great Advantage to that Country; and that he wish'd to know in what manner a Bounty on raising Wine there might be contrived, so as to operate effectually for that Purpose, desiring me to turn it in my Thoughts, as he should be glad of my Opinion and Advice. Then he inform'd me, that Newfoundland was grown too populous to be left any longer without a regular Government, but there were great Difficulties in the forming such a kind of Government as would be suitable to the particular Circumstances of that Country, which he wish'd me likewise to consider, and that I would favour him with my Sentiments.

He seem'd attentive to every thing, that might make my Stay in his House agreeable to me, and put his eldest Son Lord Kilwarling into his Phaeton with me, to drive me a Round of Forty Miles, that I might see the Country, the Seats, Manufactures, etc. covering me with his own GreatCoat, lest I should take Cold. And in short, seem'd in every-Thing extreamly solicitous to impress me, and the Colonies thro' me, with a good Opinion of him: All which I could not but wonder at, knowing that he likes neither them nor me; and I thought it inexplicable but on the Supposition, that he apprehended an approaching Storm, and was desirous of lessening beforehand the Number of Enemies he had so imprudently created. But, if he takes no Step towards withdrawing the Troops, repealing the Duties, restoring the Castle, or recalling the offensive Instructions, I shall think all the plausible Behaviour I have describ'd is meant only, by patting and stroaking the Horse, to make him more patient, while the Reins are drawn tighter, and the Spurs set deeper into his Sides.

Before leaving Ireland I must mention, that, being desirous of seeing the principal Patriots there, I staid till the Opening of their Parliament. I found them dispos'd to be friends of America, in which I endeavoured to confirm them, with the Expectation that our growing Weight might in time be thrown into their Scale, and, by joining our Interest with theirs might be obtained for them as well as for us, a more equitable Treatment from this Nation. There are many brave Spirits among them. The Gentry are a very sensible, polite, friendly and handsome People. Their Parliament makes a most respectable Figure, with a number of very good Speakers in both Parties, and able Men of Business. And I must not omit acquainting you, that, it being a standing Rule to admit Members of the English Parliament to sit (tho' they do not vote) in the House among the Members, while others are only admitted into the Gallery, my Fellow Traveller, being an English Member, was accordingly admitted as such. But I supposed I must go to the Gallery, when the Speaker stood up, and acquainted the House, that he understood there was in Town an American Gentleman of (as he was pleas'd to say) distinguish'd Character and Merit, a Member or Delegate of some of the Parliaments of that Country, who was desirous of being present at the Debates of this House; that there was a Rule of the House for admitting Members of English Parliaments, and that he did suppose the House would consider the American Assemblies as English Parliaments; but, as this was the first Instance, he had chosen not to give any Order in it without receiving their Directions. On the Question, the whole House gave a loud, unanimous Aye; when two Members came to me without the Bar where I was standing, led me in, and placed me very honourably. This

I am the more particular in to you, as I esteemed it a mark of respect for our Country, and a piece of politeness in which I hope our Parliament will not fall behind theirs, whenever an occasion shall offer. Ireland is itself a poor Country, and Dublin a magnificent City; but the appearances of general extreme poverty among the lower people are amazing. They live in wretched hovels of mud and straw, are clothed in rags, and subsist chiefly on potatoes. Our New England farmers, of the poorest sort, in regard to the Enjoyment of all the comforts of life, are princes when compared to them. Such is the effect of the discouragements of industry, the non-residence not only of pensioners, but of many original landlords, who lease their lands in gross to undertakers that rack the tenants and fleece them skin and all to make estates to themselves, while the first rents, as well as most of the pensions, are spent out of the country. An English gentleman there said to me, that by what he had heard of the good grazing in North America, and by what he saw of the plenty of flaxseed imported in Ireland from thence, he could not understand why we did not rival Ireland in the beef and butter trade to the West Indies, and share with it in its linen trade. But he was satisfied when I told him that I supposed the reason might be, *our people eat beef and butter every day, and wear shirts themselves.*

In short, the chief exports of Ireland seem to be pinched off the backs and out of the bellies of the miserable inhabitants. But schemes are now under consideration among the humane gentry to provide some means of mending if possible their present wretched condition.

I am much obliged by the very particular account you have favoured me with of the general sentiments of people in our

province on the present state of Affairs between the two countries. They are for the most part the same with my own.

I think the Revenue Act should be repealed, as not constitutionally founded; that the commission of the customs should be dissolved; that the troops (foreigners to us as much as Hanoverians would be in England, since they are not introduced with the consent of our Legislature) ought to be withdrawn, and the Castle restored to its rightful owners, the government of the province that built it; and that the General Court should be returned to its ancient seat, and the Governor's salary put upon its ancient footing. But it is also my opinion that, while the present American Minister continues, there is very little likelihood that any change will be made in any of those particulars, that of returning the Court perhaps excepted. And yet I am also of opinion that no farther duties are intended, and that although the American Minister might wish to increase that fund for corruption, the other Ministers are not disposed to humour him in it, and would not consent to it. I may be deceived in this opinion, but I have grounds for it. However, I think we should be as much on our guard, and use the same defensive measures and endeavours as if we saw new duties intended in the ensuing session. And nothing can more effectually discourage new duties than the diminution of the revenue produced by duties; a resolute steady refusal to consume the dutiable commodities.

In compliance with your respected recommendation I introduced Mr. Story to a Secretary of the Treasury, who forwarded his memorial; and he tells me he has obtained his request relating to the affair of Mr. Wheelwright's debt. He

now seems to wish for some appointment in consideration of his sufferings from the mob. But I doubt whether it may be worth his while to attend here the solicitation and expectation of such a reward, those attendances being often drawn out to an inconceivable length, and the expense, of course, enormous.

With the greatest esteem, I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

B. Franklin.

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574. TO SAMUEL FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, Jan. 13, 1772

Dear Cousin,

I received your kind Letter of Nov 8. and rejoice to hear of the continued Welfare of you & your good Wife & four Daughters: I hope they will all get good Husbands. I dare say they will be educated so as to deserve them.

I knew a wise old Man, who us'd to advise his young Friends to chuse Wives out of a Bunch; for where there were many Daughters, he said they improv'd each other, and from Emulation acquir'd more Accomplishments, knew more, could do more, & were not spoil'd by parental Fondness like single Children. Yours have my best Wishes, and Blessing, if that can be of any Value.

I receiv'd a very polite Letter from Mr. Bowen relating to the Print. Please to present him my respectful Compliments. I am just return'd from as long a Journey as a Man can well make in these Islands, thro' Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and the Northern Parts of England; and I find my Health much improv'd by it. I shall soon take some good Opportunity

of letting you see one of the Books that were collected by your good Grandfather. Sally Franklin presents her Duty to you & Mrs. Franklin, and Love to her Kinswomen. I am, Dear Kinsman,

Yours very affectionately

B. Franklin.

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575. TO EZRA STILES[1] (A. P. S.)

London, Jan. 13. 1772

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Dear Sir,

There is lately published in Paris a Work intitled *Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre, contenant les Idées Théologiques, Physiques, et Morales, de ce Legislateur; les Cérémonies du Culte Religieux qu'il a établi, et plusieurs Traits importans relatifs à l'Ancienne Histoire des Perses. Traduit en François sur l'Original Zend, avec des Remarques; et accompagné de plusieurs Traités propres à éclaircir les Matières qui en sont l'Objet. Par M. Anquetil du Perron, de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, et Interprète du Roy pour les Langues Orientales.* It is in two Volumes 4to. Near half the Work is an Account of the author's Travels in India, and his Residence among the Parses during several Years to learn their Languages.

I have cast my Eye over the Religious Part; it seems to contain a nice Morality, mix'd with abundance of Prayers, Ceremonies, & Observances. If you desire to have it, I will procure it for you. There is no doubt of its being a genuine Translation of the Books at present deem'd sacred as the

[1] President of Yale College, 1778–1795. — Ed.

Writings of Zoroaster by his Followers; but perhaps some of them are of later Date tho' ascrib'd to him; for to me there seems too great a Quantity & Variety of Ceremonies & Prayers, to be directed at once by one Man. In the Romish Church they have increas'd gradually in a Course of Ages to their present Bulk. Those who added new ones from time to time found it necessary to give them Authority by Pretences of their Antiquity. The Books of Moses indeed, if all written by him, which some doubt, are an Exception to this Observation. With great Esteem, I am ever, Dear Sir, &c.

Your affectionate
Friend and humⁱ Servᵗ

B. FRANKLIN.

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576. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, Jan. 28. 1772

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have written several short Letters to you lately just to let you know of my Welfare, and promising to write more fully by Capt. Falconer, which I now sit down to do, with a Number of your Favours before me. I received the Box & Letter from Mr. Peter Miller, but if as you mention, Enoch Davenport brought it, I did not see him. Perhaps he might call while I was absent in Ireland. I write by this Opportunity to Mr. Miller. What he sent me is a most valuable Curiosity. I take notice of the considerable Sums you have paid. I would not have you send me any Receipts. I am satisfy'd with the Accounts you give.

I am much pleas'd with your little Histories of our Grand-

son, & happy in thinking how much Amusement he must afford you. I pray that God may continue him to us, & to his Parents. Mr. Bache is about returning. His Behaviour here has been very agreable to me. I have advis'd him to settle down to Business in Philadelphia, where I hope he will meet with Success. I mentioned to you before, that I saw his Mother and Sisters at Preston, who are genteel People, and extreamly agreable.

I receiv'd your young Neighbour Haddock's Silk, and carried it myself to her Relations, who live very well, keeping a Linnen-Draper's Shop in Bishop's-Gate Street. They have a Relation in Spitalfields that is a Manufacturer who I believe will do it well. I shall honour much every young Lady that I find on my Return Dress'd in Silk of their own raising. I thank you for the Sauceboats, and am pleas'd to find so good a Progress made in the China Manufactury. I wish it Success most heartily.

Mrs. Stevenson too loves to hear about your little Boy. Her own Grandson (my Godson) is a fine Child, now nine Months old. He has an attentive, observing, sagacious Look, as if he had a great deal of Sense, but as yet he is not enough acquainted with our Language to express it intelligibly. His Mother nurses him herself, for which I much esteem her, as it is rather unfashionable here; whence Numbers of little Innocents suffer and perish. His Name is William. Mr. and Mrs. Strahan & their Family are well. We din'd there not long since. Yesterday Mrs. Stevenson, her Daughter, Mr. Bache, and myself, din'd at Mr. West's. They are well and their fine Boy.

I am pleas'd that the Letters between me and the good Lady entertain'd you. But you ought not to have shown

them to any body but Sally. Since my Return I receiv'd the enclos'd; but having too much to do, I could not accept the kind Invitation.

The Squirrels came safe and well. You will see by the enclos'd how welcome they were. A 1000 Thanks are sent you for them, and I thank you for the Readiness with which you executed the Commission.

My Love to our dear precious Polley Hunt & all our kind enquiring Friends. Mrs. Montgomery's Health is I hope establish'd, as also that of our Dear Friend Rhoads and his Family. The Buckwheat and Indian Meal are come safe & good. They will be a great Refreshment to me this Winter. For since I cannot be in America, every thing that comes from thence comforts me a little, as being something like Home. The dry'd Peaches too are excellent, those dry'd without the Skin: The Parcel in their Skins are not so good. The Apples are the best I ever had and came with the least Damage. The Sturgeon you mention did not come: but that is not so material.

I hope our cousin Tyler will do well among us. He seems a sober well inclin'd Man; and when I saw him at Birmingham, he appear'd to be well respected by his Relations and Friends. An active, lively industrious Wife would be a good Thing for him. I grieve for our Friend Bond's heavy Loss; and am sorry for poor Dr. Kearsley's misfortune. I sent you from Ireland a fine Piece of the Holland of that Country. Capt. All, whom I met with there, found a Captain that he knew who promis'd to take care of it and deliver it safe. You mention nothing of it in your Letter of Decem^{r} 2. when in the common Course you ought to have had it before that time, which makes me fear it is lost. I wrote to you from

Dublin; and from Glasgow in Scotland. I was in Ireland about 7 Weeks, in Scotland about 4 Weeks, absent from London in all more than three Months. My Tour was a very pleasant one. I received abundance of Civilities from the Gentry of both those Kingdoms, and my Health is improv'd by the Air & Exercise.

I have advis'd Mr. Bache to deal only in the Ready Money Way, tho' he should sell less. It is the safest and the most easy Manner of carrying on Business. He may keep his Store in your little North Room, for the present. And as he will be at no Expence while the Family continues with you, I think he may, with Industry and Frugality, get so forward, as at the end of his Term, to pay his Debts and be clear of the World, which I much wish to see. I have given him £200 Sterl'g to add something to his Cargo. My Love to our dear Sally, and to Ben. concludes at present, from Your ever affectionate Husband

B. FRANKLIN.

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577. TO ANTHONY TISSINGTON[1] (A. P. S.)

London, Jan. 28. 1772

DEAR SIR,

I received your very kind Letter of the 15th together with the Turkey, which prov'd exceeding fine. We regal'd a Number of our Friends with it, & drank your & Mrs Tissington's Health, which we wish'd sincerely. — Mrs Stevenson keeps about, but is ever ailing, like your Dame, with Rheumatic Pains that fly from Limb to Limb continually. Tis a most wicked Distemper, & often puts me

[1] See Vol. I, p. 56. — ED.

in mind of the Saying of a Scotch Divine to some of his Brethren who were complaining that their Flocks had of late been infected with *Arianism* and *Socinianism*. Mine, says he, is infected with a worse *ism* than either of those. — Pray, Brother, what can that be? — It is, the *Rheumatism*. —

I was a good deal mortified at not having it in my Power to call at Alfreton in my late Tours: But I hope for the Pleasure of seeing you both in London this Winter. Mrs Stevenson & Sally Franklin join in Wishes of every kind of Prosperity to you & yours, with, Dear Sir,

Your oblig'd & affectionate hum^l^ Servt.

B. Franklin

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578. TO MRS. SARAH BACHE (A. P. S.)

London, Jan. 29. 1772

Dear Sally,

I received your agreable Letters of Oct. 11. and Nov. 5. I met with Mr. Bache at Preston, where I staid two or three Days, being very kindly entertained by his Mother and Sisters, whom I lik'd much. He came to town with me, and is now going home to you. I have advis'd him to settle down to Business in Philadelphia, where he will always be with you. I am of Opinion, that almost any Profession a Man has been educated in, is preferable to an Office held at Pleasure, as rendering him more independent, more a Freeman, and less subject to the Caprices of Superiors. And I think, that in keeping a Store, if it be where you dwell, you can be serviceable to him as your Mother was to me: For you are not deficient in Capacity, and I hope are not too proud.

You might easily learn Accounts, and you can copy Letters,

or write them very well upon Occasion. By Industry & Frugality you may get forward in the World, being both of you yet young. And then what we may leave you at our Death may be a pretty Addition, tho' of itself far from sufficient to maintain & bring up a Family. It is of the more Importance for you to think seriously of this, as you may have a Number of Children to educate. 'Till my Return you need be at no Expence for Rent, etc, as you are all welcome to continue with your Mother, and indeed it seems to be your Duty to attend her, as she grows infirm, and takes much Delight in your Company and the Child's. This Saving will be a Help in your Progress: And for your Encouragement I can assure you that there is scarce a Merchant of Opulence in your Town, whom I do not remember a young Beginner with as little to go on with, & no better Prospects than Mr. Bache. That his Voyage hither might not be quite fruitless, I have given him 200£ Sterling; with which I wish you good Luck.

I hope you will attend to what is recommended to you in this Letter, it proceeding from sincere Affection, after due Consideration, with the Knowledge I have of the World and my own Circumstances. I am much pleas'd with the Acct I receive from all Hands of your dear little Boy. I hope he will be continu'd a Blessing to us all. Tho' I long to see my Family, I am glad you did not come over, as the Expence would have been very great, and I think I shall not continue here much longer. It is a Pleasure to me that the little Things I sent you prov'd agreable. I am ever, my dear Sally, your affectionate Father,

B. Franklin.

579. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, Jan. 30. 1772

My dear Son,

I have now before me yours of July 3. Aug. 3. Sept. 3. and Nov. 5. All but the last came in my Absence, which is the Reason they were not immediately answer'd. In yours of July 3 you mention some Complaisance of Lord H.'s[1] towards you, that show'd a Disposition of being upon better Terms. His Behaviour to me in Ireland corresponds exactly. We met first at the Lord Lieutenant's. Mr. Jackson and I were invited to dine there, and when we came, were shown into a Room, where Lord H. was alone. He was extreamly civil, wonderfully so to me whom he had not long before abus'd to Mr. Strahan, as a factious turbulent Fellow, always in Mischief, a Republican, Enemy to the King's Service, and what not. He entered very frankly into Conversation with us both, and invited us both to stop at his House in Hillsboro', as we should travel Northward, and urged it in so polite a Manner, that we could not avoid saying we would wait on him if we went that way. In my own Mind I was determin'd not to go that way, but Mr. Jackson thought himself oblig'd to call on his Lordship, considering the connection his Office forms between them. His Lordship dined with us at the Lord Lieut's. There were at Table, the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker, & all the great Officers of State. He drank my Health & was otherwise particularly civil. He went from Dublin some Days before us, And when we were on the Road, it was my Purpose to have turn'd off for Armagh on a Visit to Dean

[1] Hillsborough. — Ed.

Hamilton, let Mr. Jackson go to Hillsborough alone, and meet him at Belfast: But it so happen'd that where we were to have parted, no Post Chaise was to be had for me, nor any other to proceed with but that we came in, so I was oblig'd to go forward with Mr. Jackson to Hillsborough, and as soon as his Lordship knew we were arriv'd at the Inn he sent a Message over for us to come to the House. There we were detain'd by a 1000 Civilities from Tuesday to Sunday.

. . . . . .

I believe I wrote you a good deal of this before from Scotland, but as I have no Copy of that Letter, I cannot easily avoid the Repetition.[1]

At Dublin we saw and were entertain'd by both Parties, the Courtiers & the Patriots. The latter treated me with particular Respect. We were admitted to sit among the Members in the Commons' house, Mr. Jackson as member of the British Parliament, & I as Member of some English *Parliament* in America. The Speaker propos'd it in my Behalf, with some very obliging Expressions of Respect for my Character, and was answer'd by the House with a unanimous Aye of Consent, when two Members came out to me, led me in between them, and plac'd me honourably & commodiously. I hope our Assemblies will not fall short of them in this Politeness, if any Irish Member should happen to be in our Country.

In Scotland I spent 5 Days with Lord Kaims at his Seat, Blair Drummond near Stirling, two or three Days at Glasgow, two Days at Carron Iron Works, and the rest of the Month in and about Edinburgh, lodging at David Hume's, who entertain'd me with the greatest Kindness and Hospi-

[1] See letter to Thomas Cushing, January 13, 1772. — ED.

tality, as did Lord Kaims & his Lady. All our old Acquaintance there, Sir Alex^r Dick and Lady, Mr. McGowan, Drs. Robertson, Cullen, Black, Ferguson, Russel, and others, enquired affectionately of your Welfare. I was out three Months, and the Journey was evidently of great service to my Health.

Mr. Bache had some Views of obtaining an Office in America, but I dissuaded him from the Application, as I could not appear in it, and rather wish to see all I am connected with in an Independent Situation, supported by their own Industry. I therefore advis'd him to lay out the Money he brought with him (1000£ Sterling) in Goods, return and sit down to Business in Philadelphia, selling for ready Money only, in which way I think he might, by quick Returns, get forward in the World. It would have been wrong for Sally to leave her Mother, besides incurring the Expence of such a Voyage.

I cast my eye over Goddard's Piece against our friend Mr. Galloway, and then lit my Fire with it. I think such feeble, malicious Attacks cannot hurt him.

The Resolution of the Board of Trade to admit for the future no Agents to appear before them but such as are appointed by "concurrent Act of the whole Legislature," will I think put an End to Agencies, as I apprehend the Assemblies will think Agents under the ministerial Influence that must arise from such Appointments, cannot be of much Use in their Colony Affairs. In truth, I think the Agents, as now appointed, of as much Use to the Government here as to the Colonies that send them, having often prevented its going into mistaken Measures thro' Misinformation, that must have been very inconvenient to itself, and would have pre-

vented more of the same kind if they had been attended to, witness the Stamp and Duty Acts. I believe therefore we shall conclude to leave this omniscient infallible Minister to his own Devices, and be no longer at the Expence of sending any Agent, whom he can displace by a Repeal of the appointing Act. I am sure I should not like to be an Agent in such a suspicious Situation, and shall therefore decline serving under every such Appointment.

Your Assembly may avoid the Dispute you seem apprehensive of, by leaving the Appointment of an Agent out of the Support Bill, or rather I should say the Sum for his Salary. The Money in my Hands will pay him (whoever he is) for two or three Years, in which the Measure and the Minister, may be changed. In the mean time, by working with a Friend who has great Influence at the Board, he can serve the Province as effectually as by an open Reception and Appearance. . . .

. . .[1] Our Friend Sir John Pringle put into my hand the other Day a Letter from Mr. Bowman, seeming, I thought, a good deal pleas'd with the Notice you had taken of his Recommendation. I send you a Copy of it, that you may see the Man has a grateful Disposition. Temple has been at home with us during the Christmas Vacation from School. He improves continually, and more and more engages the Regard of all that are acquainted with him, by his pleasing, sensible, manly Behaviour.

I have of late great Debates with myself whether or not I shall continue here any longer. I grow homesick, and, being now in my 67th Year, I begin to apprehend some Infirmity of Age may attack me, and make my Return impracticable.

[1] A paragraph relating to small matters of private business omitted. — Ed.

I have, also, some important Affairs to settle before my Death, a Period I ought now to think cannot be far distant. I see here no Disposition in Parliament to meddle farther in Colony Affairs for the present, either to lay more Duties or to repeal any; and I think, tho' I were to return again, I may be absent from hence a Year without any Prejudice to the Business I am engag'd in, tho' it is not probable, that, being once at home I should ever again see England. I have indeed so many good kind Friends here, that I could spend the Remainder of my Life among them with great Pleasure, if it were not for my American connections, & the indelible Affection I retain for that dear Country, from which I have so long been in a State of Exile. My love to Betsey. I am ever your affectionate Father,

B. FRANKLIN.

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580. TO JOHN FOXCROFT (A. P. S.)

DEAR FRIEND, London, Feb. 4. 1772

I have written two or three small Letters to you since my Return from Ireland and Scotland. I now have before me your Favours of Oct. 1. Nov. 5. and Nov. 13. Mr. Todd has not yet shewn me that which you wrote to him about the New Colony, tho' he mentioned it, and will let me see it, I suppose, when I call on him. I told you in one of mine, that he has advanced for your Share what has been paid by others, tho' I was ready to do it, and shall in the whole Affair take the same Care of your Interest as of my own.

You take Notice that "Mr. Wharton's Friends will not allow me *any Merit* in this Transaction,[1] but insist *the Whole* is

[1] "Walpole's grant." — ED.

owing to his superior Abilities." It is a common Error in Friends when they would extol their Friend, to make Comparisons & to depreciate the Merits of others. It was not necessary for his Friends to do so in this Case. Mr. Wharton will in Truth have a good deal of Merit in the Affair if it succeeds, he having been exceedingly active and industrious in soliciting it, and in drawing up Memorials and Papers to support the Application, remove objections, etc. But tho' I have not been equally active, (it not being thought proper that I should appear much in the Solicitation since I became a little obnoxious to the Ministry on Acc[t] of my Letters to America) yet I suppose my Advice may have been thought of some Use, since it has been ask'd on every Step, and I believe that being longer and better known here than Mr. Wharton, I may have lent some Weight to his Negociations by joining in the Affair, from the greater Confidence men are apt to place in one they know, than in a Stranger. However, as I neither ask nor expect any particular Consideration for any Service I may have done, and only think I ought to escape Censure, I shall not enlarge on this invidious Topic.

Let us all do our Endeavours, in our several Capacities, for the common Service, and if one has the Ability or Opportunity of doing more for his Friends than another, let him think that a Happiness, and be satisfied. The Business is not yet quite compleated, and as many Things happen between the Cup & the Lip, perhaps there may be nothing of this kind for Friends to dispute about. For if nobody should receive any Benefit, there would be no Scrambling for the Honour. Stavers is in the wrong to talk of my promising him the Rider's Place again. I only told him that I would (as he requested it) recommend him to Mr. Hubbard, to be replac'd

if it could be done without Impropriety or Inconveniency. This I did, & the rather as I had always understood him to be a good honest punctual Rider. His Behaviour to you entitles him to no Favour and I believe any Application he may make here, will be to little purpose:

In yours from N. York, of July 3. You mention'd your Intention of purchasing a Bill to send hither, as soon as you return'd home from your Journey. I have not since receiv'd any from you, which I only take notice of to you, that if you have sent one you may not blame me for not acknowledging the Receipt of it.

In mine of April 20. I explain'd to you what I had before mentioned, that in settling our private Account, I had paid you the sum of 389£, (or thereabouts,) in my own Wrong, having before paid it for you to the General PostOffice. I hope that since you have receiv'd your Books & looked over the Accounts, you are satisfy'd of this. I am anxious for your Answer upon it, the sum being too large to be left long without an Adjustment. My Love to my Daughter, and Compliments to your Brother. I am ever, my dear friend, Yours most Affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

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581. TO DR. THOMAS BOND[1] (A. P. S.)

London, Feb. 5. 1772

DEAR SIR

I received your Favour by Mr. D. Kuhn but being then just setting out on a Tour thro' Ireland and Scotland, I had

[1] Thomas Bond (1712–1784), a distinguished physician of Philadelphia. — ED.

not time to answer it. Mr. Kuhn I believe went directly to Sweden. I shall, if he returns hither while I am here, gladly render him any Service in my Power.

I suppose your Son Richard will spend some time in London, where by what I have heard, Physic and Surgery may be studied to as great Advantage as in any Part of the World, by Attending the Anatomical Lectures and Hospitals, conversing with the most eminent Practitioners, and Reading under their Advice and Direction: And yet the general Run is at present to Edinburgh; there being at the Opening of the Schools when I was there in November last, a much greater Number of medical Students than had ever been known before. They have indeed a Set of Able Professors in the several Branches, if common Opinion may be rely'd on. I who am no Judge in that Science, can only say that I found them very sensible Men, and agreable Companions. I will endeavour to obtain Sir John Pringle's Advice in the Affair, as you desire. Every Wednesday Evening he admits young Physicians and Surgeons to a Conversation at his House, which is thought very improving to them. I will endeavour to introduce your Son there when he comes to London. And to tell you frankly my Opinion, I suspect there is more valuable knowledge in Physic to be learnt from the honest candid Observations of an old Practitioner, who is past all desire of more Business, having made his Fortune, who has none of the Professional Interest in keeping up a Parade of Science to draw Pupils, and who by Experience has discovered the Inefficacy of most Remedies and Modes of Practice, than from all the formal Lectures of all the Universities upon Earth. I like therefore a Physician's breeding his Son to Medicine, and wish the Art to be continu'd with the Race,

as thinking that must be upon the whole most for the Publick Welfare.

When I was last at your House I observed that the Paint of the Picture you had was all cracked. I complain'd of it to the Painter. He acknowledged that in that Picture, and three others, he had made Trial of a new Vernish which had been Attended with this mischievous Effect; and offer'd to make Amends, if I would sit to him again, by drawing a new Picture gratis, only on this Condition, that the old one should be return'd to him. I wrote this to Mrs. Franklin, who should have acquainted you with it, but I suppose forgot it. He was 5 or 6 Years in finishing it, having much other Business. If therefore you like the new one best, please to put the old one in a Box, and send it by the next Ship hither, as the Painter expects to have one or the other returned.

Mr. Small, an ingenious Gentleman, now gone to Jamaica, has bequeath'd to our Society, some Journals of the Weather which he kept there with great Accuracy, which I shall send you as soon as they come into my Hands. With this you will receive a Circular Scheme for noting the Variations of the Barometer, and comparing them in different and distant Places, which he recommends to be used by the Members of the Society that inhabit different Provinces, as he conceives that some curious and useful Discoveries in Meteorology may thence arise. I send also a Box from Mr. Ludlam,[1] containing some Books which he presents to the Society; a Parcel with some Books presented by Mr. Forster; another

[1] Mr. Ludlam is a most learned Man and ingenious mechanic. — You will be so good as to communicate his Letter to Mr. Rittenhouse. — F. [William Ludlam (1717–1788), fellow of St. John's, Cambridge. He was one of "three gentlemen skilled in mechanics" appointed to report to the Board of Longitude, on the merits of John Harrison's watch. — Ed.]

with two Volumes of the Philosophical Transactions presented to our Society by the Royal Society here, in Return for the Volume you sent them. I inclose Mr. Forster's [1] Letter, a Letter of Thanks from the Society of Arts, and a Letter from Mr. Ludlam. Dr. Smith in a Letter which came with the Books, gave me to expect another Box with Copies for the learned Societies abroad; and a few spare ones for my Friends; but they are not yet come to hand; and I am often ask'd by the Curious how it happens that none are to be bought here.

I hope soon to receive them, and have no doubt but it will procure us the Correspondence of those Societies.

I thank you for the inaugural Dissertation, and am pleas'd to see our School of Physic begin to make a Figure. I know not why it should not soon be equal to that in Edinburgh. I am much oblig'd to the young gentleman who has done me the Honour to inscribe his Performance to me. I wish him the Success his Ingenuity seems to promise him.

My Love to Mrs. Bond and your Children. I condole with you both most sincerely on the great Loss you have lately sustained.

With the truest Esteem and Regard, I am ever, my dear Friend

Yours most Affectionately

B. Franklin

The Parcels are in
the care of Mr. Bache.

[1] John Reinhold Forster translated Kalm's "Travels through North America," Bossu's "Travels through Louisiana," and published a Catalogue of North American Animals. — Ed.

582. TO CADWALLADER EVANS[1]

London, February 6, 1772.

Dear Doctor,

The trunks of silk were detained at the customhouse till very lately; first, because of the holidays, and then waiting to get two persons, skilful in silk, to make a valuation of it, in order to ascertain the bounty. As soon as that was done, and the trunks brought to my house, I waited on Dr. Fothergill to request he would come and see it opened, and consult about disposing of it, which he could not do till last Thursday. On examining it, we found that the valuers had opened all the parcels, in order, we suppose, to see the quality of each, had neglected to make them up again, and the directions and marks were lost, (except that from Mr. Parke, and that of the second crop,) so that we could not find which was intended for the Queen, and which for the Proprietary family. Then, being no judges ourselves, we concluded to get Mr. Patterson or some other skilful person, to come and pick out six pounds of the best for her Majesty, and four pounds for each of the other ladies. This I have endeavoured, but it is not yet done, though I hourly expect it.

Mr. Boydell, broker for the ship, attended the customhouse to obtain the valuation, and had a great deal of trouble to get it managed. I have not since seen him, nor heard the sum they reported, but hope to give you all the particulars by the next ship, which I understand sails in about a fortnight, when Dr. Fothergill and myself are to write a joint letter to the committee, to whom please to present my respects,

[1] Printed from Sparks.

and assure them of my most faithful services. I am charmed with the sight of such a quantity the second year, and have great hopes the produce will now be established. The second crop silk seems to me not inferior to the others; and, if it is practicable with us to have two crops, and the second season does not interfere too much with other business in the farming way, I think it will be a great addition to the profits, as well as to the quantity.

Dr. Fothergill has a number of Chinese drawings, of which some represent the process of raising silk, from the beginning to the end. I am to call at his house and assist in looking them out, he intending to send them as a present to the Silk Company. I have now only time to add, that I am ever, yours very affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN

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583. TO DR. RICHARD PRICE (A. P. S.)

Cravenstreet, Feb. 11. '72.

DEAR SIR,

Permit me to thank you, not only on my own Account for the Book [1] itself you have so kindly sent me, but in Behalf of the Publick for Writing it: It being in my Opinion consider^g^ the profound Study, & steady Application of Mind that the Work required, & the sound Judgment with which it is executed, and its great and important Utility to the Nation, the foremost Production of human Understanding, that this Century has afforded us. — With great & sincere Esteem I am, my dear Friend,

Yours most affectionately

B. F.

[1] "Appeal to the Public on the subject of the National Debt" (1771). — ED.

584. TO NOBLE WIMBERLEY JONES (A. P. S.)

London, April 2. 1772.

Dear Sir,

I was in Ireland when your respected Fav[r] of July 8. arrived at my House here. On my Return which was just before the Meeting of Parliam[t] I by a Line or two acknowledg'd the Receipt of it, intending to write more largely as soon as any Business should occur. I hoped the Petition relating to the controverted Lands would have been brought forward long before this time, having been assured when it was presented that it should in its Turn come under Consideration; but such has been the Croud of more important Affairs, that the Council have as yet found no time to do any thing in it. Tho' I flatter my self, as no solicitation is omitted, that it may be brought to a favourable Conclusion before the Season of Business is over. —

Your Account of the Governor's Treatment of the Assembly & your self, determined me to wait upon him on his Arrival here, as we can not but greatly disapprove his Conduct. As your Mode of appointing an Agent is by an Ordinance to which he must give his Assent I think it not likely that I shall be continued in that Service for your Province. I shall nevertheless continue to render it every Good Office in my power while I remain in England, which I think will not now be much longer. —

The presenting of a Speaker to the King I suppose was originally intended that the King might know the Person from whom he was to receive the Sense of Parliament on every proper Occasion. To facilitate the Intercourse, it is

probable the Parliament might think it advisable rather to chuse (other Qualifications being equal) a Person not justly obnoxious to the King; and then it was natural for him to compliment them by saying he approv'd their Choice. But from this it by no means follows, that without such Approbation the Speaker could not continue in his Office, or that if the House refus'd to chuse another, it would be a justifiable Use of the Prerogative therefore to dissolve them. I believe a King of England at this Day would hardly venture on such a Step; but Governors take greater Liberties, having naturally no Respect for the People, but abundance for Ministers. — It is by the Arbitrary Proceedings of Governors & other Crown Officers countenanc'd by their Protectors here, that the Affections of the Americans to this Country are daily diminishing, and their Attachment to its Government in danger of being lost in the Course of a few succeeding Years. As a Disunion would be a Weakening to the Empire, & of course prejudicial to [1]

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585. TO THOMAS CUSHING [2]

London, April 13, 1772.

Sir,

I wrote to you in January last a long letter, by Meyrick, and at the same time wrote to the Committee, since which I have received no line from any one in Boston, nor has Mr. Bollan yet received the answer we wait for, respecting the eastern settlements on the crown land.

The Parliament has been employed in the royal marriage bill, and other business; nothing of importance relating to

[1] The remainder of the letter is lost. — Ed.

[2] First published by Sparks.

America has been mentioned hitherto during the session, and it is thought that India affairs will fill up the remainder of the time, to the prorogation. I have not met with Lord Hillsborough since my return from Ireland, seeing no use at present in attending his levees. The papers mentioned his intention of moving something in the House of Lords relating to America, but I cannot learn there was any truth in it.

It is my present purpose to return home this summer, in which case, I suppose I am to leave your business and papers in the hands of Mr. Lee, which I shall do, if I do not receive other directions.

Upon the present plan here of admitting no agent, but such as governors shall approve of, from year to year, and of course none but such as the ministry approves of, I do not conceive that agents can be of much use to you; and, therefore, I suppose you would rather decline appointing any. In my opinion, they have at all times been of full as much service to government here, as to the colonies from whence they come, and might still be so, if properly attended to, in preventing, by their better information, those disgraceful blunders of government, that arise from its ignorance of our situation, circumstances, abilities, temper, &c., such as the Stamp Act, which too would have been prevented, if the agents had been regarded. Therefore I should think, that, if agents can be allowed here on no other footing than is now proposed, we should omit sending any, and leave the crown, when it wants our aids, or would transact business with us, to send its minister to the colonies.

Be pleased to present my respects to the Committee, and duty to the Assembly, and believe me, with sincere esteem, &c.

B. Franklin.

586. TO JEAN BAPTISTE LE ROY (A. P. S.)

London, April 20. 1772

Dear Sir,

I received your Favour of March 5, by M. Dazeux, and shall be glad of any opportunity of doing him Service. It gave me great Pleasure to learn by him, that you are well & happily married, on which I give you Joy. 'Tis after all the most natural State of Man.

Mr. West, our President, concerning whom you make enquiry, is esteemed a good Antiquarian, but has not distinguish'd himself in any other Branch of Science. He is a Member of Parliament, was formerly Secretary to the Treasury, and is very rich.[1]

I am glad to hear that a Voyage is intended from France to the North Pole. The World owes much to the noble Spirit with which your Nation pursues the Improvement of Knowledge, and to the Liberality with which you communicate what you acquire to the rest of Mankind. I hope your Philosophers on that Voyage will be able to discover more clearly the Cause of the Aurora Borealis, and a Passage round the North of America.

I suppose Care has been taken to make their Ships very strong, that they may bear thumping among the Ice. My best Wishes will attend them for their Success and Safe Return.

[1] James West was President of the Royal Society from November, 1768, till his death in July, 1772. He possessed a very extensive library of rare and valuable books, which were sold by auction after his death. His curious collection of manuscripts was sold to the Marquis of Lansdown, of whom they were purchased by Parliament, and they now make a part of the *Lansdown Manuscripts* in the British Museum. — S.

Messrs. Banks and Solander[1] are to sail with two Ships in about a Fortnight for the South. They expect to be out near 4 Years. They present their Compliments, & are pleas'd with the Notice you honour them with in your Letter to me. Sir John Pringle continues well and presents his respectful compliments to you. I am, with the most perfect Esteem,

Dear Sir, yours, &c.

B. Franklin.

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587. TO JOSEPH PRIESTLEY (A. P. S.)

London, May 4. 1772

Dear Sir,

I think with you that there cannot be the least Occasion for my explaining your Method of impregnating water with fix'd air to Messrs. Banks and Solander, as they were present and I suppose are as well acquainted with it as myself; however, I shall readily do it, if they think it necessary. I am glad you intend to improve and publish the Process.

You must go half an Inch farther with your Spark to exceed what I show'd here with my Philadelphia Machine in 1758 to Lord Charles Cavendish and others, who judg'd them to be nine Inches. My Cushion was of Buckskin with a long damp flap, and had a Wire from it thro' the Window down to the Iron Rails in the Yard; the Conductor of Tin 4 feet long and about 4 Inches Diameter. So powerful a Machine had then never been seen in England before, as

[1] Daniel Charles Solander (1736–1782), botanist, accompanied Sir Joseph Banks on Cook's voyage in the *Endeavour* (1768), and went with him to Iceland in 1772. — Ed.

they were pleas'd to tell me. A Machine was made from mine for Mr. Simmer, and was afterwards in the Possession of Lord Morton: A more convenient Construction I have never since seen, except that of yours. I intend soon to repeat Barletti's experiments, being provided with the Requisites, and shall let you know the Result.

I should be glad to see the French Translation of your Book. Can you conveniently lend it to me when you have perus'd it? I fancy it was translated at the Request of Abbé Nollet by a Friend & Disciple of his as I know there was one (whose Name I have forgotten) that us'd to translate for him Extracts of English Electrical Books.

The Abbé's Machine was a very bad one, requiring three Persons to make the smallest Experiment, one to turn the great Wheel, and one to hold Hands on the Globe. And the Effect after all but weak. De lor had a similar one, and invited me to see him exhibit to the Duchess of Rochefoucauld but the Weather being a little warm, he could perform nothing, scarce obtaining a Spark.

This Inconvenience must have occasioned his making fewer Experiments, & of course his not being so easily convinced. M. Le Roy, however, got early possession of the Truth, & combated for it with Nollet; yet I think the Academy rather favoured the latter. Le Roy will, I suppose, now confute this translator, for I have just seen a Letter of his to Mr. Magelhaens, thanking him for sending so excellent an Electrical Machine to France; (it is one of the Plate ones) which he has improv'd so as to produce the positive and negative electricities separately or together at the same time, "de façon" (says he) "qu'on peut faire toutes les expériences possibles sur l'une ou l'autre de ces deux électricités. — Enfin

on étoit si éloigné de connoître les phénomènes de ces deux électricités ici, faute de machines commodes de les demontrer, que beaucoup des gens ont été étonnés de voir avec quelle évidence ils établissent la distinction de ces deux électricités," &c. This Letter is of the 5th instant.

My best Wishes attend you and yours. I am ever, with great Respect, my dear Friend,

Yours most sincerely,

B. F[RANKLIN.]

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588. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, May 5. 1772

My dear Child,

I received your kind Letter of March 2, and am glad to hear that the Ship from Ireland is got safe into Antigua. I hope you will now get the little Token I sent you from thence. I have not receiv'd the Letter you mention to have given the young Scotsman, nor that from Mr. Craige.

I am sorry for the Disorder that has fallen on our Friend Kinnersley, but hope he will get the better of it. I thank you for your Advice about putting back a Fit of the Gout. I shall never attempt such a Thing. Indeed I have not much occasion to complain of the Gout, having had but two slight Fits since I came last to England. I hope Mr. Bache is with you and his Family by this Time, as he sailed from the Downs the latter End of February. My Love to him and Sally, and young Master, who I suppose is Master of the House. Tell him, that Billy Hewson is as much thought of here as he can be there; was wean'd last Saturday; loves musick; comes to see his Gran-ma; and will be lifted up to

knock at the Door himself, as he has done while I was writing this at the Request of Mrs. Stevenson, who sends her Love, as Sally does her Duty. Thanks to God, I continue well, and am, as ever, your affectionate Husband,

B. Franklin.

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589. TO MAJOR DAWSON[1] (A. P. S.)

Craven Street, May 29, 177[2.]

Sir,

Having visited yesterday, as you desired, the powder magazines at Purfleet, in order to see how they may be protected against danger from lightning, I think,

1. That all the iron bars, which pass down along the arches, from the top to the place where the powder is deposited, should be removed; as they now constitute, with the brass hoops with which the casks are bound, an imperfect conductor; imperfect in proportion to the greater or less height to which the casks are piled; but, in any case, such that they can only serve to attract towards the powder the first stroke that falls upon the arch; and that they are consequently very dangerous.

2. That the building, which has a leaden coping along the ridge from one end to the other, may be secured by means of a pointed iron rod, carried up near each end, communicating with this coping, and extending through the rock of chalk, which serves as the foundation of the building, till it meets with water. This rod should be at least an inch in diameter, that it may be more durable, and afford the light-

[1] From a document in the handwriting of M. Dubourg. Major Dawson was a military engineer. — Ed.

ning a more free course through its substance; and it should be painted, to preserve it from rust. Its upper extremity should be carried ten feet above the summit of the roof, and taper off gradually till it ends in a sharp point; and, the better to preserve this point, the last six inches should be of brass, because it is less liable to become blunted by rust. If the rod cannot well be made entirely of a single piece, the different pieces composing it should be strongly screwed together, or into one another very closely, with a thin plate of lead between the joints, in order to render the junction or continuation of the metal more perfect.

After all the electrical experiments that I have made in reference to this subject, and all the examples that have come to my knowledge of the effects of lightning on these conductors, it seems to me, that (provided they are good and perfect, carried down till water or very moist ground is reached) they are equally safe, whether placed directly against the wall, and secured by staples driven into it, or whether supported by a pole or staff planted in the ground, at some distance from the wall. The former is the better mode, as the rod can be bent to avoid the windows or doors, which are situated directly below the summit of the roof. Yet, as certain apprehensions may be more effectually set at rest by supporting the rods in the other manner, I should make no objection to this, provided that they can be suitably placed, without interfering with any passage, and that they are so firmly fixed that the wind cannot, by causing them to vibrate, interrupt the communication of iron or lead, between the side of the rod and the lead that covers the ridge.

3. As I am informed that the roofs of the other four buildings are to be reconstructed after the model of that of which

I have just been speaking, the same method may be followed with regard to them, when they are finished in this manner. But, if it be asked how they may be rendered secure in the mean time, I would advise, that, (as their roofs are now of a different form, being hip-roofs with four corners, and the joining at their corners, as well as their ridge-pieces, having a coping of lead, which extends to the gutters,) the passages, which it is proposed to carry down till water is reached, be bored or dug immediately, and that that part of each conductor, which is to be carried up from the water as high as the gutters, be fixed in them. From the top of this conductor I would carry out two arms of iron to the corners of the gutters, where the leaden coping of the corners of the roof should be united to the ends of these bars; and at the junction of these corners with the ridge-piece, I would carry up rods to the height of ten feet, pointed as directed above; which, when a new roof is made, could be used for the upper part of a straight conductor. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. For that part of the conductor which is to be carried under ground, leaden pipes should be used, as less liable to rust.

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590. TOLERATION IN OLD ENGLAND AND NEW ENGLAND [1]

SIR,

I understand from the public papers, that in the debates on the bill for relieving the Dissenters in the point of subscrip-

[1] From *The London Packet*, June 3, 1772. Reprinted in "Two Letters to the Prelates," as the production of "a gentleman highly respected in the literary world." — ED.

tion to the church articles, sundry reflections were thrown out against that people, importing, "that they themselves are of a persecuting, intolerant spirit; for that, when they had the superiority, they persecuted the church, and still persecute it in America, where they compel its members to pay taxes for maintaining the Presbyterian or Independent worship, and, at the same time, refuse them a toleration in the full exercise of their religion by the administrations of a bishop."

If we look back into history for the character of the present sects in Christianity we shall find few that have not in their turns been persecutors, and complainers of persecution. The primitive Christians thought persecution extremely wrong in the Pagans, but practised it on one another. The first Protestants of the church of England blamed persecution in the Romish church, but practised it against the Puritans. These found it wrong in the bishops, but fell into the same practise themselves, both here and in New England. To account for this we should remember, that the doctrine of *toleration* was not then known, or had not prevailed in the world Persecution was, therefore, not so much the fault of the sect as of the times. It was not in those days deemed wrong *in itself*. The general opinion was only, that those *who are in error* ought not to persecute *the truth;* but the *possessors of truth* were in the right to persecute *error* in order to destroy it. Thus every sect, believing itself possessed of *all truth*, and that every tenet differing from theirs was *error*, conceived, that, when the power was in their hands, persecution was a duty required of them by that God, whom they supposed to be offended with heresy. By degrees more moderate *and more modest* sentiments have taken place

in the Christian world; and among Protestants, particularly, all disclaim persecution, none vindicate it, and but few practise it. We should then cease to reproach each other with what was done by our ancestors, but judge of the present character of sects or churches by their *present conduct* only.

Now, to determine on the justice of this charge against the present Dissenters, particularly those in America, let us consider the following facts. They went from England to establish a new country for themselves, *at their own expense*, where they might enjoy the free exercise of religion in their own way. When they had purchased the territory of the natives, they granted the lands out in townships, requiring for it neither purchase-money nor quit-rent, but this condition only to be complied with, that the freeholders should for ever support a gospel minister, (meaning probably one of the governing sects,) and a free-school, within the township. Thus what is commonly called Presbyterianism became the *established religion* of that country. All went on well in this way while the same religious opinions were general, the support of minister and school being raised by a proportionate tax on the lands. But, in process of time some becoming Quakers, some Baptists, and, of late years, some returning to the church of England (through the laudable endeavours, and a *proper application* of their funds, by the Society for Propagating the Gospel), objections were made to the payment of a tax appropriated to the support of a church they disapproved and had forsaken.

The civil magistrates, however, continued for a time to collect and apply the tax according to the original laws, which remained in force; and they did it more freely, as thinking it just and equitable, that the holders of lands

should pay what was contracted to be paid when they were granted, as the only consideration for the grant, and what had been considered by all subsequent purchasers as a perpetual incumbrance on the estate, bought therefore at a proportionably cheaper rate; a payment which it was thought no honest man ought to avoid, under the pretence of his having changed his religious persuasion. And this, I suppose, is one of the best grounds of demanding tithes of Dissenters now in England. But the practice being clamoured against by the Episcopalians as persecution, the legislature of the province of Massachusetts Bay, near thirty years since, passed an act for their relief, requiring indeed the tax to be paid as usual, but directing that the several sums levied from members of the Church of England, should be paid over to the minister of that church, with whom such members usually attended divine worship, which minister had power given him to receive, and on occasion *to recover the same by law.*

It seems that the legislature considered the *end* of the tax was to secure and improve the morals of the people, and promote their happiness, by supporting among them the public worship of God, and the preaching of the Gospel; that where particular people fancied a particular mode, that mode might probably, therefore, be of most use to those people; and that, if the good was done, it was not so material in what mode or by whom it was done. The consideration that their brethren, the Dissenters in England, were still compelled to pay tithes to the clergy of the church, had not weight enough with the legislature to prevent this moderate act, which still continues in full force; and I hope no uncharitable conduct of the church towards the Dissenters will ever provoke them to repeal it.

With regard to a *bishop*, I know not upon what grounds the Dissenters, either here or in America, are charged with refusing the benefit of such an officer to the church in that country. *Here* they seem to have naturally no concern in the affair. *There* they have no power to prevent it, if government should think fit to send one. They would probably *dislike*, indeed, to see an order of men established among them, from whose persecutions their fathers fled into that wilderness, and whose future domination they may possibly fear, *not knowing that their natures are changed.* But the non-appointment of bishops for America seems to arise from another quarter. The same wisdom of government, probably, that prevents the sitting of convocations, and forbids by *noli-prosequis* the persecution of Dissenters for non-subscription, avoids establishing bishops where the minds of the people are not yet prepared to receive them cordially, lest the public peace should be endangered.

And now let us see how this *persecution account* stands between the parties.

In New England, where the legislative bodies are almost to a man dissenters from the church of England,

1. There is no test to prevent churchmen from holding offices.

2. The sons of churchmen have the full benefit of the universities.

3. The taxes for support of public worship, when paid by churchmen, are given to the Episcopal minister.

In Old England,

1. Dissenters are excluded from all offices of profit and honour.

2. The benefits of education in the universities are appropriated to the sons of churchmen.

3. The clergy of the Dissenters receive none of the tithes paid by their people, who must be at the additional charge of maintaining their own separate worship.

But it is said, the Dissenters of America *oppose* the introduction of a bishop.

In fact, it is not alone the Dissenters there that give opposition (if *not encouraging* must be termed *opposing*), but the laity in general dislike the project, and some even of the clergy. The inhabitants of Virginia are almost all Episcopalians. The church is fully established there, and the Council and General Assembly are perhaps to a man its members; yet, when lately, at a meeting of the clergy, a resolution was taken to apply for a bishop, against which several however protested, the Assembly of the province at their next meeting expressed their disapprobation of the thing in the strongest manner, by unanimously ordering the thanks of the House to the protesters; for many of the American laity of the church think it some advantage, whether their own young men come to England for ordination and improve themselves at the same time with the learned here, or the congregations are supplied by Englishmen, who have had the benefit of education in English universities, and are ordained before they come abroad. They do not, therefore, see the necessity of a bishop merely for ordination, and confirmation is deemed among them a ceremony of no very great importance, since few seek it in England, where bishops are in plenty. These sentiments prevail with many churchmen there, not to promote a design which they think must sooner or later saddle them with great expenses to support it. As to the Dissenters, their minds might probably be more conciliated to the measure, if the bishops here should, in their wisdom and good-

ness, think fit to set their sacred character in a more friendly light, by dropping their opposition to the Dissenters' application for relief in subscription, and declaring their willingness that Dissenters should be capable of offices, enjoy the benefit of education in the universities, and the privilege of appropriating their tithes to the support of their own clergy. In all these points of toleration they appear far behind the present Dissenters of New England, and it may seem to some a step below the dignity of bishops to follow the example of such inferiors. I do not however despair of their doing it some time or other, since nothing of the kind is too hard for *true Christian humility*. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

A New England Man.

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591. TO DU PONT DE NEMOURS[1] (P. C.)

London, June 15, 1772.

Dear Sir,

I am much obliged to you for introducing me to the Knowledge of M. le Marquis d'Ecrammeville, who appears a very amiable Man, with an excellent Understanding.

Abraham Mansword's Advice to his Countrymen is very good. I hope they will have more of it.

Pray inform me by a Line, whether M. Le Roy has paid for the Ephemerides in my Behalf. If not, I will upon Sight discharge the amount, by paying your Draft upon me. And I request they may be continually sent me as long as you are concern'd in them.

Go on to do good with your inlighten'd Pen, and by

[1] From the original in the possession of Colonel H. A. Du Pont. — Ed.

instructing them & inciting them to Virtue deserve well of Mankind & of their common Father.

With sincere and great Esteem, I am, my Dear Friend,

Yours most affectionately,

B FRANKLIN.

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592. TO FRANCIS MASERES[1] (L. C.)

Craven Street, June 17, 1772.

SIR: — I thank you for the pamphlets proposing to establish Life Annuities in Parishes, &c. I think it an excellent one. In compliance with your wish, pages 25, 26, I send it back with a few marginal notes (perhaps of no great importance) made in reading it, requesting it may be returned to me.

In page 118 of Dr. Price's book on Annuities, 2d edition, you will find mention made of an institution in Holland. He had that information from me. Those houses are handsome, neat buildings, with very comfortable apartments. Some form the sides of a square, with grass-plots and gravel walks, flowers, &c., and some have little separate gardens behind each apartment. Those for men are called *Oude Mannen Huyzen;* for women, *Oude Vrouwen Huyzen.* I think the different kinds sometimes make different sides of the same square. There is a chapel for prayers, a common kitchen, and a common hall in which they dine together. Two persons, such as best like one another, and choose so to associate, are generally lodged in one apartment, though in

[1] Francis Maseres (1731–1824), bencher of the Inner Temple [see Lamb's "Essay on the Old Benchers of the Inner Temple"], cursitor baron of the Exchequer and Senior Judge of the Sheriffs' Court in the city of London. — ED.

separate beds, that they may be at hand to assist each other in case of sudden illness in the night, and otherwise be mutually helpful.

The Directors have also a room to meet in, who form rules, for the government of the house, hear complaints, and rectify what is amiss. Gentlemen are directors of the *Oude Mannen Huyzen*, ladies of the *Oude Vrouwen Huyzen*. A committee of two are chosen every year, who visit often, see the rules observed, and take care of the management. At the end of the year these are thanked off, and as an honourable memorial of their services, their names, with the year they served, are added to the Gold Letter List on the walls of the room. All the furniture is neat and convenient, the beds and rooms kept clean and sweet by the servants of the house; and the people appear to live happily.

These institutions seem calculated to prevent poverty, which is rather a better thing than relieving it. For it keeps always in the public eye a state of comfort and repose in old age, with freedom from care held forth as an encouragement to so much industry and frugality in youth as may at least serve to raise the required sum (suppose £50) that is to entitle a man or a woman at fifty to a retreat in those houses. And in acquiring this sum habits may be acquired that produce such affluence before that age arrives, as to make the retreat unnecessary and so never claimed. Hence if £50 would (as by your table) entitle a man at fifty years of age to an annuity of £19,3,6½, I suppose that in such a house, entertainment, and accommodations to a much greater value might be afforded him; because the right to live there is not transferable, and therefore every unclaimed right is an advantage to the house, while annuities would probably all be claimed.

Then it seems to me that the prospect of a distant annuity will not be so influencing on the minds of young people, as the constant view of the comfort enjoyed in those houses, in comparison of which the *payment* and *receipt* of the annuities are *private* transactions.

I write this in hopes you will, after consideration, favour me with your opinion whether (in addition to your plan, which will still have all advantages for smaller sums) one or more such houses in every county, would not probably be of great use in still farther promoting industry and frugality among the lower people and of course lessening the enormous weight of the poor-tax?

I enclose a little piece I wrote in America, to encourage and strengthen those important virtues, of which I beg your acceptance, and am, with great esteem, Sir, your most obedient and humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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593. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, July 14, 1772

MY DEAR CHILD,

I am just return'd from a Journey of near a Month, which has given a new Spring to my Health and Spirits. I did not get home in time to write by Osborne, but shall fully to my Friends in general by Cap[t]. All, who sails about the End of the Week.

I was charg'd with Abundance of Love to you and Sally and Ben from our Sister Bache and her amiable Daughters. I spent some Days at Preston, visited several Friends in Cumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, and Staffordshire.

Rachel Wilson sent her Love to you and our Children, as did our remaining Relations at Birmingham, where I likewise staied several Days. In Cumberland I ascended a very high Mountain, where I had a Prospect of a most beautiful Country, of Hills, Fields, Lakes, Villas, &c. and at Whitehaven went down the Coal mines till they told me I was 80 Fathoms under the Surface of the Sea, which roll'd over our Heads; so that I have been nearer both the upper and lower Regions than ever in my Life before. My Love to our Children, and all enquiring Friends. I am ever, my dear Debby, your affectionate Husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

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594. TO DU PONT DE NEMOURS[1] (P. C.)

London, Aug. 12, 1772.

DEAR SIR,

I am concern'd to understand lately that you have never been paid as I expected for the Ephemerides, and therefore I send you three Guineas by our valuable Friend M. Baudeau, requesting you will let me have the Accompt at your Leisure, & I will take care for the future that the Payment shall be more punctual. — You are doing a great deal of Good to Mankind, for which I am afraid you are not duly rewarded, except in the Satisfaction that results from it to your benevolent Mind. — With sincere and great Esteem and Affection, I have the Honour to be,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient
& most humble servant,
(Signed) B. FRANKLIN.

[1] From the original in the possession of Colonel H. A. Du Pont. — ED.

595. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN[1]

London, August 17, 1772.

DEAR SON,

At length we have got rid of Lord Hillsborough, and Lord Dartmouth takes his place, to the great satisfaction of all the friends of America. You will hear it said among you, I suppose, that the interest of the Ohio planters has ousted him; but the truth is, what I wrote you long since, that all his brother ministers disliked him extremely, and wished for a fair occasion of tripping up his heels; so, seeing that he made a point of defeating our scheme, they made another of supporting it, on purpose to mortify him, which they knew his pride could not bear. I do not mean they would have done this, if they had thought our proposal bad in itself, or his opposition well founded; but I believe, if he had been on good terms with them, they would not have differed with him for so small a matter. The King, too, was tired of him and of his administration, which had weakened the affection and respect of the colonies for a royal government, of which (I may say it to you) I used proper means from time to time that his Majesty should have due information and convincing proofs. More of this when I see you.

The King's dislike made the others more firmly united in the resolution of disgracing Hillsborough, by setting at nought his famous report. But, now that business is done perhaps our affair may be less regarded in the cabinet and suffered to linger, and possibly may yet miscarry. Therefore

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), 1817, Vol. VI, p. 290. — ED.

let us beware of every word and action, that may betray a confidence in its success, lest we render ourselves ridiculous in case of disappointment. We are now pushing for a completion of the business; but the time is unfavourable, everybody gone or going into the country, which gives room for accidents.

I am writing by Falconer, and therefore in this only add, that I am ever your affectionate father,

B. Franklin.

P.S. The regard Lord Dartmouth has always done me the honour to express for me, gives me room to hope being able to obtain more in favour of our colonies upon occasion, than I could for some time past.

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596. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN[1] (L. C.)

London, Augt 19: 1772.

[Dear Son,]

In yours of May 14th, you acquaint me with your indisposition, which gave me great concern. The resolution you have taken to use more exercise is extremely proper; and I hope you will steadily perform it. It is of the greatest importance to prevent diseases, since the cure of them by physic is so very precarious.

In considering the different kinds of exercise, I have thought, that the *quantum* of each is to be judged of, not by time or by distance, but by the degree of warmth it produces in the body. Thus, when I observe, if I am cold when I get into a

[1] From a trans. in L. C. It was also printed in "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (1817), Vol. VI., p. 291. — Ed.

carriage in a morning, I may ride all day without being warmed by it; that, if on horseback my feet are cold, I may ride some hours before they become warm; but, if I am ever so cold on foot, I cannot walk an hour briskly, without glowing from head to foot by the quickened circulation; I have been ready to say, (using round numbers without regard to exactness, but merely to mark a great difference), that there is more exercise in *one* mile's riding on horseback, than in *five* in a coach; and more in *one* mile's walking on foot, than in *five* on horseback; to which I may add, that there is more in walking *one* mile up and down stairs, than in *five* on a level floor. The two latter exercises may be had within doors, when the weather discourages going abroad; and the last may be had when one is pinched for time, as containing a great quantity of exercise in a handful of minutes. The dumb bell is another exercise of the latter compendious kind. By the use of it I have in forty swings quickened my pulse from sixty to one hundred beats in a minute, counted by a second watch; and I suppose the warmth generally increases with quickness of pulse.

B. FRANKLIN.

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597. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN (L. C.)

London, August 19, 1772.

DEAR SON,

I received yours of June 30th. I am vexed that my letter to you, written at Glasgow, miscarried; not so much that you did not receive it, as that it is probably in other hands. It contained some accounts of what passed in Ireland, which were for you only.

As Lord Hillsborough in fact got nothing out of me, I should rather suppose he threw me away as an orange that would yield no juice, and therefore not worth more squeezing. When I had been a little while returned to London, I waited on him to thank him for his civilities in Ireland, and to discourse with him on a Georgia affair. The porter told me he was not at home. I left my card, went another time, and received the same answer, though I knew he was at home, a friend of mine being with him. After intermissions of a week each, I made two more visits, and received the same answer. The last time was on a levee day, when a number of carriages were at his door. My coachman driving up, alighted, and was opening the coach door, when the porter, seeing me, came out, and surlily chid the coachman for opening the door before he had inquired whether my Lord was at home; and then turning to me, said, "My Lord is not at home." I have never since been nigh him, and we have only abused one another at a distance.

The contrast, as you observe, is very striking between his conversation with the chief justice, and his letter to you concerning your province. I know him to be as double and deceitful as any man I ever met with. But we have done with him, I hope, for ever. His removal has, I believe, been meditated ever since the death of the Princess Dowager. For I recollect, that on my complaining of him about that time to a friend at court, whom you may guess, he told me, we Americans were represented by Hillsborough as an unquiet people, not easily satisfied with any ministry; that, however, it was thought too much occasion had been given us to dislike the present; and asked me, whether, if he should be removed, I could name another likely to be more acceptable to us.

I said, "Yes, there is Lord Dartmouth; we liked him very well when he was at the head of the Board formerly, and probably should like him again." This I heard no more of, but I am pretty sure it was reported where I could wish it, though I know not that it had any effect.

As to my situation here, nothing can be more agreeable, especially as I hope for less embarrassment from the new minister; a general respect paid me by the learned, a number of friends and acquaintance among them, with whom I have a pleasing intercourse; a character of so much weight, that it has protected me when some in power would have done me injury, and continued me in an office they would have deprived me of; my company so much desired, that I seldom dine at home in winter, and could spend the whole summer in the country-houses of inviting friends, if I chose it. Learned and ingenious foreigners, that come to England, almost all make a point of visiting me; for my reputation is still higher abroad than here. Several of the foreign ambassadors have assiduously cultivated my acquaintance, treating me as one of their *corps*, partly I believe from the desire they have, from time to time, of hearing something of American affairs, an object become of importance in foreign courts, who begin to hope Britain's alarming power will be diminished by the defection of her colonies; and partly that they may have an opportunity of introducing me to the gentlemen of their country who desire it. The King, too, has lately been heard to speak of me with great regard.

These are flattering circumstances; but a violent longing for home sometimes seizes me, which I can no otherwise subdue but by promising myself a return next spring or next fall, and so forth. As to returning hither, if I once go back, I

have no thoughts of it. I am too far advanced in life to propose three voyages more. I have some important affairs to settle at home, and, considering my double expenses here and there, I hardly think my salaries fully compensate the disadvantages. The late change, however, being thrown into the balance, determines me to stay another winter.

August 22d. — I find I omitted congratulating you on the honour of your election into the Society for propagating the Gospel. There you match indeed my Dutch honour. But you are again behind, for last night I received a letter from Paris, of which the enclosed is an extract, acquainting me that I am chosen *Associé Etranger* (foreign member) of the Royal Academy there. There are but eight of these *Associés Etrangers* in all Europe, and those of the most distinguished names of science. The vacancy I have the honour of filling was made by the death of the late celebrated Van Swieten of Vienna. This mark of respect from the first academy in the world, which Abbé Nollet, one of its members, took so much pains to prejudice against my doctrines, I consider as a kind of victory without ink-shed, since I never answered him. I am told he has but one of his sect now remaining in the Academy. All the rest, who have in any degree acquainted themselves with electricity, are as he calls them *Franklinists*.[1]

Yours, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

[1] The following is the reply, which Dr. Franklin wrote to the Duke de Vrillière, who had informed him of his having been chosen a member of the Royal Academy at Paris.

"Dear Sir; It was with the greatest pleasure I received the information your Grace has condescended to give me, of my nomination by the King to fill a vacancy in the Academy of Sciences, as *Associé Etranger*. I have a high sense of the great honour thereby conferred on me, and beg that my grateful acknowledgments may be presented to his Majesty. With the greatest respect, &c." — *London. September 4th*, 1772.

598. REPORT ON LIGHTNING CONDUCTORS FOR THE POWDER MAGAZINES AT PURFLEET (L. C.)

Drawn up by Benjamin Franklin, August 21st, 1772.

To the President and Council of the Royal Society.

Gentlemen,

The Society being consulted by the Board of Ordnance, on the Propriety of fixing Conductors for securing the Powder Magazines at Purfleet from Lightning, and having thereupon done us the Honour of appointing us a Committee to consider the same and report our Opinion, we have accordingly visited those Buildings, and examined with Care and Attention their Situation, Construction, and Circumstances, which we find as follows;

They are five in Number, each about 150 feet long, about 52 feet wide, built of Brick, arched under the Roof, which in one of them is slated, with a Coping of Lead 22 Inches wide on the Ridge, from End to End; and the others, we were informed, are soon to be covered in the same manner. They stand parallel to each other, at about 57 feet distance, and are founded on a Chalk Rock about 100 feet from the River, which rises at high Tides within a few Inches of the Level of the Ground, its brackish Water also soaking through to the Wells that are dug near the Buildings.

The Barrels of Powder, when the Magazines are full, lie pil'd on each other up to the Spring of the Arches; and there are four Copper Hoops on each Barrel, which, with a Number of perpendicular Iron Bars (that come down through the

Arches to support a long, grooved Piece of Timber, wherein the Crane was usually moved and guided to any Part where it was wanted), formed broken Conductors, within the Building, the more dangerous from their being incompleat; as the Explosion from Hoop to Hoop, in the Passage of Lightning drawn down thro' the Bars among the Barrels, might easily happen to fire the Powder contain'd in them; but the Workmen were removing all those Iron Bars (by the Advice of some Members of the Society who had been previously consulted), a measure we very much approve of.

On an elevated Ground, nearly equal in height with the Tops of the Magazines, and 150 Yards from them, is the House wherein the Board usually meet; it is a lofty Building, with a pointed Hip-roof, the Copings of Lead down to the Gutters; whence leaden Pipes descend at each End of the Building, into the Water of two Wells 40 feet deep, for the purpose of conveying Water, forc'd up by Engines, to a Cistern in the Roof.

There is also a Proof-House adjoining to the End of one of the Magazines; and a Clock-House at the Distance of Feet from them, which has a Weathercock on an Iron Spindle, and probably some incompleat Conductors within, such as the Wire usually extending up from a Clock to its Hammer, the Clock, Pendulum Rod, &c.

The Blowing-up of a Magazine of Gunpowder by Lightning within a few Years past, at Brescia in Italy, which demolished a considerable Part of the Town, with the Loss of many Lives, does, in our Opinion, strongly urge the Propriety of guarding such Magazines from that kind of Danger. And since it is now well known from many Observations, that Metals have the Property of conducting Lightning, and

a Method has been discovered of using that Property for the Security of Buildings, by so disposing and fixing Iron Rods, as to receive and convey safely away such Lightning as might otherwise have damaged them, which Method has been practised near 20 years in many Places, and attended with Success in all the Instances that have come to our Knowledge, we cannot therefore but think it adviseable to provide Conductors of that kind for the Magazines in question.

In common Cases it has been judg'd sufficient, if the lower Part of the Conductor were sunk three or four feet into the Ground till it came to moist Earth; but, this being a Case of the greatest Importance, we are of Opinion, that greater Precautions should be taken. Therefore we would advise, that in each End of each Magazine a Well should be dug in or through the Chalk, so deep as to have in it at least 4 feet of standing Water. From the Bottom of this Water should rise a Piece of leaden Pipe to or near the Surface of the Ground, where it should be strongly joined to the End of an upright Iron Bar, an inch and half in Diameter, fastned to the Wall by leaden Straps, and extending ten feet above the Ridge of the Building, tapering from the Ridge upwards to a sharp Point; the upper 12 Inches to be Copper; the Iron to be painted.

We mention Lead for the underground Part of the Conductor, as less liable to rust in Water and moist Places, in the Form of a Pipe, as giving greater Stiffness for the Substance; and Iron for the Part above ground, as stronger and less likely to be cut away. The Pieces of which the Bar may be composed should be screwed strongly into each other by a close Joint, with a thin Plate of Lead between the Shoulders, to make the Joining or Continuation of Metal

more perfect. Each Rod, in passing above the Ridge, should be strongly and closely connected by Iron or Lead, or both, with the leaden Coping of the Roof, whereby a Communication of Metal will be made between the two Bars of each Building, for a more free and easy conducting of the Lightning into the Earth.

We also advise, in Consideration of the great Length of the Buildings, that two Wells, of the same Depth with the others, should be dug within 12 feet of the Doors of the two outside Magazines; that is to say, one of them on the North Side of the north Building, the other on the South Side of the South Building; from the Bottoms of which Wells, similar Conductors should be carried up to the Eaves, there joining well with a Plate of Lead extending on the Roof up to the leaden Coping of the Ridge, the said Plate of Lead being of equal Substance with that of the Coping.

We are further of Opinion, that it will be right to form a Communication of Lead from the Top of the Chimney of the Proof-House to the Lead on its Ridge, and thence to the Lead on the Ridge of the Corridor, and thence to the Iron Conductor of the adjacent End of the Magazine; and also to fix a Conductor from the Bottom of the Weathercock Spindle of the Clock-house, down on the outside of that Building into the moist Earth.

As to the Board-House, we think it already well furnished with Conductors by the several leaden Communications above mentioned, from the Point of the Roof down into the Water; and that, by its Height and Proximity, it may be some Security to the Buildings below it; we therefore propose no other Conductor for that Building, and only advise erecting a pointed Rod on the Summit, similar to

those before described, and communicating with those Conductors.

To these Directions we would add a Caution, that, in all future Alterations or Repairs of the Buildings, special Care be taken that the metalline Communications are not cut off or removed.

It remains that we express our Acknowledgments to Sir Charles Frederick, Surveyor-general of the Ordnance, for the obliging Attention with which he entertained and accommodated us on the Day of our Enquiry.

With very great respect we are, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servants,

H. CAVENDISH,
WILLIAM WATSON,
B. FRANKLIN,
J. ROBERTSON.

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599. EXPERIMENTS, OBSERVATIONS, AND FACTS, TENDING TO SUPPORT THE OPINION OF THE UTILITY OF LONG, POINTED RODS, FOR SECURING BUILDINGS FROM DAMAGE BY STROKES OF LIGHTNING

READ AT THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO CONSIDER THE ERECTING OF CONDUCTORS TO SECURE THE MAGAZINES AT PURFLEET, AUGUST 27TH, 1772.

EXPERIMENT I.

THE prime conductor of an electric machine, *A*, *B*, (see Plate IV.) being supported about ten inches and a half above the table by a wax stand, and under it erected a *pointed wire*, seven inches and a half high, and one fifth of an inch thick,

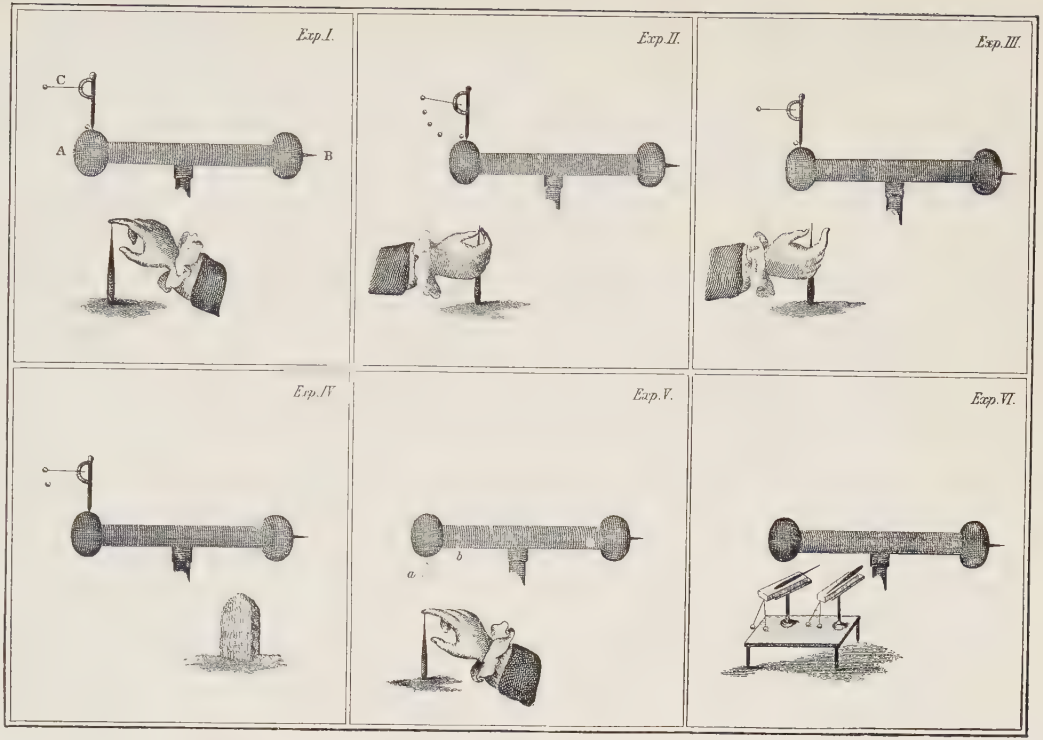

PLATE IV.

and tapering to a sharp point, and communicating with the table; when the *point* (being uppermost) is *covered* by the end of a finger, the conductor may be full charged, and the electrometer will rise to the height indicating a full charge; but the moment the point is *uncovered*, the ball of the electrometer drops, showing the prime conductor to be instantly discharged and nearly emptied of its electricity. Turn the wire its *blunt* end upwards (which represents an unpointed bar), and no such effect follows, the electrometer remaining at its usual height when the prime conductor is charged.

OBSERVATION.

What quantity of lightning a high, pointed rod, well communicating with the earth, may be expected to discharge from the clouds silently in a short time, is yet unknown; but I reason from a particular fact to think it may at some times be very great. In Philadelphia I had such a rod fixed to the top of my chimney, and extending about nine feet above it. From the foot of this rod, a wire (the thickness of a goose-quill) came through a covered glass tube in the roof, and down through the well of the staircase; the lower end connected with the iron spear of a pump. On the staircase opposite to my chamber door, the wire was divided; the ends separated about six inches, a little bell on each end; and between the bells a little brass ball, suspended by a silk thread, to play between and strike the bells when clouds passed with electricity in them. After having frequently drawn sparks and charged bottles from the bell of the upper wire, I was one night awaked by loud cracks on the staircase. Starting up and opening the door, I perceived that the brass ball, instead of vibrating as usual between the bells, was repelled

and kept at a distance from both; while the fire passed, sometimes in very large, quick cracks from bell to bell, and sometimes in a continued, dense, white stream, seemingly as large as my finger, whereby the whole staircase was inlightened as with sunshine, so that one might see to pick up a pin.[1] And from the apparent quantity thus discharged, I cannot but conceive that a *number*[2] of such conductors must considerably lessen that of any approaching cloud, before it comes so near as to deliver its contents in a general stroke; an effect not to be expected from bars *unpointed*, if the above experiment with the blunt end of the wire is deemed pertinent to the case.

EXPERIMENT II.

The pointed wire under the prime conductor continuing of the same height, *pinch* it between the thumb and finger near the top, so as *just to conceal* the point; then turning the globe, the electrometer will rise and mark the full charge. Slip the fingers down, so as to discover about half an inch of the wire, then another half inch, and then another; at every one of these motions *discovering more and more* of the pointed wire; you will see the electrometer fall quick and proportionably, stopping when you stop. If you slip down the *whole distance* at once, the ball falls instantly down to the stem.

[1] M. de Romas saw still greater quantities of lightning brought down by the wire of his kite. He had "explosions from it, the noise of which greatly resembled that of thunder, and were heard (from without) into the heart of the city, notwithstanding the various noises there. The fire seen at the instant of the explosion had the shape of a spindle, eight inches long and five lines in diameter. Yet, from the time of the explosion to the end of the experiment, no lightning was seen above, nor any thunder heard. At another time the streams of fire issuing from it were observed to be an inch thick and ten feet long." See Dr. Priestley's *History of Electricity*, pp. 134-136, first edition. — F.

[2] Twelve were proposed on and near the magazines at Purfleet.— F.

OBSERVATION.

From this experiment it seems, that a greater effect in drawing off the lightning from the clouds may be expected from *long*, pointed rods, than from *short* ones; I mean from such as show the greatest length *above the building* they are fixed on.

EXPERIMENT III.

Instead of pinching the point between the thumb and finger, as in the last experiment, keep the thumb and finger each at *near an inch distance* from it, but at the *same height*, the point between them. In this situation, though the point is fairly exposed to the prime conductor, it has little or no effect; the electrometer rises to the height of a full charge. But the moment the fingers are *taken away*, the ball falls quick to the stem.

OBSERVATION.

To explain this, it is supposed, that one reason of the sudden effect produced by a long, naked, pointed wire is, that (by the repulsive power of the positive charge in the prime conductor) the natural quantity of electricity contained in the pointed wire is driven down into the earth, and the point of the wire made strongly *negative;* whence it attracts the electricity of the prime conductor more strongly than bodies in their natural state would do; the *small quantity of common matter* in the point not being able by its attractive force to retain its *natural quantity of the electric fluid*, against the force of that repulsion. But the finger and thumb, being substantial and blunt bodies, though as near the prime conductor, hold up better their *own* natural quantity against the force of that repulsion; and so, continuing nearly in the natural state, they jointly operate on the electric fluid in the point,

opposing its descent, and *aiding the point* to retain it; contrary to the repelling power of the prime conductor, which would drive it down. And this may also serve to explain the different powers of the point in the preceding experiment, on the slipping down the finger and thumb to different distances.

Hence is collected, that a pointed rod, erected *between two tall chimneys*, and very little higher, (an instance of which I have seen,) cannot have so good an effect, as if it had been erected on one of the chimneys, its whole length above it.

EXPERIMENT IV.

If, *instead* of a long, pointed wire, a *large, solid body* (to represent a building without a point) be brought under and as near the prime conductor, when charged; the ball of the electrometer will *fall* a little; and, on taking away the large body, will *rise again.*

OBSERVATION.

Its *rising again* shows that the prime conductor lost little or none of its electric charge, as it had done through the point; the *falling* of the ball while the large body was under the conductor therefore shows, that a quantity of its atmosphere was drawn from the end where the electrometer is placed, to the part immediately over the large body, and there accumulated *ready* to strike into it with its whole undiminished force, as soon as within the striking distance; and, were the prime conductor movable like a *cloud*, it would approach the body by attraction till within that distance. The swift motion of clouds, as driven by the winds, probably prevents this happening so often as otherwise it might do; for, though parts of the cloud may stoop towards a building as they pass,

in consequence of such attraction, yet they are carried forward beyond the striking distance before they could by their descending come within it.

EXPERIMENT V.

Attach a small, light *lock of cotton* to the under side of the prime conductor, so that it may hang down towards the pointed wire mentioned in the first experiment. *Cover* the point with your finger, and, the globe being turned, the cotton will extend itself, stretching down towards the finger, as at *a*; but, on *uncovering* the point, it instantly flies up to the prime conductor, as at *b*, and continues there as long as the point is uncovered. The moment you cover it again, the cotton flies down again, extending itself towards the finger; and the same happens in degree, if (instead of the finger) you use, uncovered, the *blunt* end of the wire uppermost.

OBSERVATION.

To explain this, it is supposed that the cotton, by its connexion with the prime conductor, receives from it a quantity of its electricity; which occasions its being attracted by the *finger* that remains still in nearly its natural state. But, when a *point* is opposed to the cotton, its electricity is thereby taken from it, faster than it can at a distance be supplied with a fresh quantity from the conductor. Therefore being reduced *nearer* to the natural state, it is attracted *up* to the electrified prime conductor; *rather than down*, as before, to the finger.

Supposing farther, that the prime conductor represents a cloud charged with the electric fluid; the cotton, a ragged fragment of cloud (of which the under-side of great thunder-

clouds are seen to have many), the finger, a chimney or highest part of a building. We then may conceive, that, when such a cloud passes over a *building*, some one of its ragged, under-hanging fragments may be drawn down by the chimney, or other high part of the edifice; creating thereby a *more easy communication* between it and the great cloud. But a *long, pointed rod*, being presented to this fragment, may occasion its receding, like the cotton, up to the great cloud; and thereby *increase*, instead of *lessening* the distance, so as often to make it *greater* than the striking distance. Turning the *blunt end of a wire* uppermost (which represents the unpointed bar), it appears that the same good effect is not from that to be expected. A long, pointed rod, it is therefore imagined, may *prevent* some strokes; as well as *conduct* others that fall upon it, when a great body of cloud comes on so heavily that the above repelling operation on fragments cannot take place.

EXPERIMENT VI.

Opposite the side of the prime conductor place *separately*, isolated by wax stems, Mr. Canton's two boxes with pith balls suspended by fine linen threads. On each box lay a wire, six inches long and one fifth of an inch thick, tapering to a sharp point; but so laid, as that four inches of the *pointed* end of *one* wire, and an equal length of the *blunt* end of the *other*, may project beyond the ends of the boxes; and both at eighteen inches distance from the prime conductor. Then charging the prime conductor by a turn or two of the globe, the balls of each pair will separate; those of the box, whence the point projects most, *considerably;* the others *less*. Touch the prime conductor, and those of the box with the *blunt* point will *collapse*, and join; those connected with the *point*

will at the same time approach each other, *till* within about an inch, and there *remain.*

OBSERVATION.

This seems a proof, that, though the small, sharpened part of the wire must have had a *less natural* quantity in it before the operation, than the thick, blunt part, yet a greater quantity was *driven down from it* to the balls. Thence it is again inferred, that the pointed rod is rendered *more negative;* and, farther, that if a *stroke must fall* from the cloud over a building, furnished with such a rod, it is more likely to be drawn to that pointed rod than to a blunt one; as being more strongly negative, and of course its attraction stronger. And it seems more eligible, that the lightning should fall on the point of the conductor (provided to convey it into the earth) than on any other part of the building, *thence* to proceed to such conductor. Which end is also more likely to be obtained by the length and loftiness of the rod; as protecting more extensively the building under it.

It has been *objected*, that erecting pointed rods upon *edifices* is to *invite* and draw the lightning into *them;* and therefore dangerous. Were such rods to be erected on buildings, *without continuing the communication* quite down into the moist earth, this objection might then have weight; but, when such complete conductors are made, the lightning is invited, not into the building, but into the *earth*, the situation it aims at, and which it always seizes every help to obtain, even from broken, partial metalline conductors.

It has also been suggested, that, from such electric experiments, *nothing certain can be concluded as to the great operations of nature;* since it is often seen, that experiments, which

have succeeded in small, in large have failed. It is true, that in mechanics this has sometimes happened. But, when it is considered, that we owe our first knowledge of the nature and operations of lightning to observations on such small experiments; and that, on carefully comparing the most accurate accounts of former facts, and the exactest relations of those that have occurred since, the effects have surprisingly agreed with the theory; it is humbly conceived, that in natural philosophy, in this branch of it at least, the suggestion has not so much weight; and that the farther new experiments, now adduced in recommendation of *long*, sharp-pointed rods, may have some claim to credit and consideration.

It has been urged, too, that, though points may have considerable effects on a *small* prime conductor at *small distances;* yet, on *great* clouds and at *great distances*, nothing is to be expected from them. To this it is answered, that in those *small* experiments it is evident the points act at a greater than the *striking* distance; and, in the large way, their service is *only expected* where there is *such* nearness of the cloud as to *endanger a stroke;* and there, it cannot be doubted, the points must have some effect. And, if the quantity discharged by a single pointed rod may be so considerable as I have shown it, the quantity discharged by a number will be proportionably greater.

But this part of the theory does not depend alone on *small* experiments. Since the practice of erecting pointed rods in America (now near twenty years), five of them have been struck by lightning, namely, Mr. Raven's and Mr. Maine's in South Carolina, Mr. Tucker's in Virginia, Mr. West's and Mr. Moulder's in Philadelphia. Possibly there may have been more, that have not come to my knowledge. But, in

every one of these, the lightning did *not* fall upon the *body of the house*, but precisely on the several *points* of the rods; and, though the conductors were sometimes *not sufficiently large and complete*, was conveyed into the earth, without any material damage to the buildings. Facts then *in great*, as far as we have them authenticated, justify the opinion that is drawn from the experiments *in small*, as above related.

It has also been objected, that, unless we knew the quantity that might *possibly* be discharged at one stroke from the clouds, we cannot be sure we have provided *sufficient* conductors; and therefore cannot depend on their conveying away *all* that may fall on their points. Indeed we have nothing to form a judgment by in this, but past facts; and we know of no instance, where a *complete* conductor to the moist earth *has* been insufficient, if half an inch in diameter. It is probable, that many strokes of lightning have been conveyed through the common leaden pipes affixed to houses to carry down the water from the roof to the ground; and there is no account of such pipes being melted and destroyed, as must sometimes have happened, if they had been insufficient. We can, then, only judge of the dimensions proper for a conductor of lightning, as we do of those proper for a *conductor of rain*, by past observations. And, as we think a pipe of three inches bore sufficient to carry off the rain that falls on a square of twenty feet, because we never saw such a pipe glutted by any shower; so we may judge a conductor of an inch diameter more than sufficient for any stroke of lightning that will fall on its point. It is true, that, if another deluge should happen wherein the windows of heaven are to be opened, such pipes may be unequal to the falling quantity; and, if God for our sins should think fit to rain fire upon us, as upon some cities of old, it is

not expected that our conductors, of whatever size, should secure our houses against a miracle. Probably, as water drawn up into the air and there forming clouds, is disposed to fall again in *rain* by its natural gravity, as soon as a number of particles sufficient to make a drop can get together; so, when the clouds are (by whatever means) over or under charged with the *electric fluid* to a degree sufficient to attract them towards the earth, the equilibrium is restored, before the difference becomes great beyond that degree. Mr. Lane's *electrometer*, for limiting precisely the quantity of a shock that is to be administered in a medical view, may serve to make this more easily intelligible. The discharging knob does by a screw approach the conductor to the distance intended, but there remains fixed. Whatever power there may be in the glass globe to collect the fulminating fluid, and whatever capacity of receiving and accumulating it there may be in the bottle or glass jar, yet neither the accumulation nor the discharge ever exceeds the destined quantity. Thus, were the *clouds* always at a certain fixed distance from the earth, all discharges would be made when the quantity accumulated was equal to the distance. But there is a circumstance, which, by occasionally lessening the distance, lessens the discharge; to wit, the movableness of the clouds, and their being drawn nearer to the earth by attraction when electrified; so that discharges are thereby rendered more frequent and of course less violent. Hence, whatever the quantity may be in nature, and whatever the power in the clouds of collecting it, yet an accumulation and force beyond what mankind has hitherto been acquainted with is scarce to be expected.

B. F.

August, 27, 1772.

600. TO REV. WILLIAM SMITH (A. P. S.)

London, Augt 22, 1772

SIR,

I received yours of May 16 with the Box of Books, and have already delivered and forwarded most of them as directed. I supply'd Dr Fothergill with the wanting Sheet. I approve much of the Letter's being in English. I forwarded your Letter to Mr. White, Son of *Taylor* White, Esqr late Treasurer of the Foundling Hospital (now deceas'd) but he has not call'd for the Book. I am glad to hear of your Success at South Carolina, and that the College flourishes. I send enclos'd a Pamphlet on a new Discovery that makes some Noise here. With my best Wishes of Prosperity to the Society and Thanks for the Number of Books they have sent me, which I shall endeavour to dispose of to their Credit, I am, Sir,

Your most obed^t hum^l Servant

B. FRANKLIN.

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601. TO ANTHONY BENEZET [1] (L. C.)

London, August 22: 1772.

DEAR FRIEND,

I made a little extract from yours of April 27, of the number of slaves imported and perishing, with some close remarks on the hypocrisy of this country, which encourages such a detestable commerce by laws for promoting the Guinea trade;

[1] Anthony Benezet (1713–1784) was born in St. Quentin, France, but lived fifty-three years in Philadelphia. He belonged to the Society of Friends and devoted his life to the abolition of the slave trade. — ED.

while it piqued itself on its virtue, love of liberty, and the equity of its courts, in setting free a single negro. This was inserted in the *London Chronicle*, of the 20th of June last.

I thank you for the Virginia address, which I shall also publish with some remarks. I am glad to hear that the disposition against keeping negroes grows more general in North America. Several pieces have been lately printed here against the practice, and I hope in time it will be taken into consideration and suppressed by the legislature. Your labours have already been attended with great effects. I hope, therefore, you and your friends will be encouraged to proceed. My hearty wishes of success attend you, being ever, my dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

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602. TO JOHN BARTRAM[1]

London, August 22, 1772.

My dear old Friend, — I received your kind letter of May 10. I am glad the Rhubarb Seed got safe to hand. I make no doubt of its Thriving well in our Country, where the Climate is the same with that of the Chinese Wall, just outside which it grows in plenty and of the best Quality. I shall be glad to know how you find the Juniper. I asked Solander about the Lucern Seed you wrote for. He could give me no Account of it, nor can I learn anything of it from others. You may rely upon my Friendship in recommending your Seeds. I send all that enquire of me about American Seeds to Mr. Freeman. He should advertise them when they come.

[1] From the original in the Royal Museum, Salford, England. — ED.

I hear nothing lately of Young, and think him not of much Consequence. — With Love to Mrs. Bartram and your Children, I am ever, my dear Friend, yours most Affectionately,

B. Franklin.

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603. TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY[1]

London, August 22, 1772.

Dear Friend,

I acknowledged before the receipt of your favour of May 14, since which I have no line from you. It will be a pleasure to render any service to Mr. Tilghman whom you recommended.

The acts passed in your winter and spring sessions I have not yet received, nor have I heard from Mr. Wilmot, that they have been presented.

Lord Hillsborough, mortified by the Committee of Council's approbation of our grant, in opposition to his report, has resigned. I believe when he offered to do so, he had such an opinion of his importance that he did not think it would be accepted; and that it would be thought prudent rather to set our grant aside than part with him. His colleagues in the ministry were all glad to get rid of him, and perhaps for this reason joined more readily in giving him that mortification. Lord Dartmouth succeeds him, who has much more favourable dispositions towards the colonies. He has heretofore expressed some personal regard for me, and I hope now to find our business with the Board more easy to transact.

Your observations on the state of the Islands did not come

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), 1817, Vol. VI, p. 293. — Ed.

to hand, till after Lord Rochford had withdrawn his petition.[1] His Lordship and the promoters of it were so roasted on the occasion, that I believe another of the kind will not very soon be thought of. The Proprietor was at the expense of the opposition, and as I knew it would not be necessary, and thought it might be inconvenient to our affairs, I did not openly engage in it; but I gave some private assistance, that I believe was not without effect. I think too that Mr. Jackson's opinion was of great service. I would lodge a copy of your paper in the Plantation Office against any similar future applications, if you approve of it. I only think the Island holders make too great a concession to the crown, when they suppose it may have a right to quitrent. It can have none, in my opinion, on the old grants from Indians, Swedes, and Dutch, where none was reserved. And I think those grants so clearly good, as to need no confirmation; to obtain which I suppose is the only motive for offering such quitrent. I imagine, too, that it may not be amiss to affix a *caveat* in the Plantation Office, in the behalf of holders of property in those islands, against any grant of them that may be applied for, till they have had timely notice, and an opportunity of being fully heard. Mr. Jackson is out of town, but I shall confer with him on the subject as soon as he returns. I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. Franklin.

[1] Islands in the Delaware River, to which Lord Rochford had made a claim. — S.

604. TO THOMAS CUSHING[1]

London, September 3, 1772.

Sir,

I write this line, just to acknowledge the receipt of your several favours of July 15th and 16th, containing the resolves of the House relating to the governor's salary, and the petition to the King.

Lord Dartmouth, now our American minister, is at present in the country, and will probably not be in town till the season of business comes on. I shall then immediately put the petition into his hands, to be presented to his Majesty. I may be mistaken, but I imagine we shall not meet the same difficulty in transacting business with him, as with his predecessor, on whose removal I congratulate you and the Assembly most heartily. I shall write fully by some of the next Boston ships; at present can only add, that, with the sincerest esteem and respect, I have the honour to be, &c.

B. Franklin.

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605. TO JOHN HUSKE[2] (A. P. S.)

London, Sept. 6, 1772.

Dear Sir,

I have deferred Writing to you agreable to the Caution you gave me, till this safe Opportunity offered. America is infinitely oblig'd to you for your continued good Wishes & Schemes for her Advantage: — But I am sorry to tell you

[1] First printed by Sparks.

[2] M. P. for Maldon, Essex, born in 1721, died 1773. — Ed.

that she is here become an Object of Jealousy, and that the obtaining Money from our poor Treasury to forward such Schemes, tho' at the same time equally beneficial to this Country, is out of all Expectation. — A new Colony however is forming, where good Land may be had cheap, & where your Friend may probably find an Opportunity of serving himself & Family, while he is at the same time useful to the Publick wherein I shall be glad to serve him. — Of this I shall write more fully when things are riper. In the meantime, I am, with great Esteem, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient
humble Servt.
B. F.

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606. TO JOHN WALSH[1] (A. P. S.)

London, Sept. 6, 1772.

Dear Sir,

I am glad to find by your Favour of the 27th past, that you are return'd safe & well to Paris after your Expedition to the Sea Coast, and that you intend to publish an Acc[t] of your Experiments. Your doing it as you propose in a Letter to me I shall esteem a very great Honour. Nothing new in the Philosophic Way has occurred here since my last, in which I think I mention'd Dr. Priestly's Experiments whereby he found that growing Vegetables restore Air that has been spoilt by Putrefaction. — Your Friends here expect your Return

[1] Secretary to Clive. He was first cousin of Nevil Maskelyne. The experiments referred to in the letter were upon the torpedo fish. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, November 8, 1770, and a letter from him to Franklin, July 1, 1773, treating "of the electric property of the torpedo," was read before the Society (*Philo. Trans.*, LXIII, 461). He died in London, March 9, 1795. — Ed.

with some Impatience. I am, with sincere Esteem & Respect, Dear Sir,

Your obliged & most obedt
humble Servt.

B. F.

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607. TO JOSEPH PRIESTLEY (D. S. W.) (L. C.)

London, Sept. 19: 1772.

DEAR SIR,

In the Affair of so much Importance to you, wherein you ask my Advice, I cannot for want of sufficient Premises, advise you *what* to determine, but if you please I will tell you *how*. When those difficult Cases occur, they are difficult, chiefly because while we have them under Consideration, all the Reasons *pro* and *con* are not present to the Mind at the same time; but sometimes one Set present themselves, and at other times another, the first being out of Sight. Hence the various Purposes or Inclinations that alternately prevail, and the Uncertainty that perplexes us.

To get over this, my Way is, to divide half a Sheet of Paper by a Line into two Columns; writing over the one *Pro*, and over the other *Con*. Then during three or four Days Consideration, I put down under the different Heads short Hints of the different Motives, that at different Times occur to me, *for* or *against* the Measure. When I have thus got them all together in one View, I endeavour to estimate their respective Weights; and where I find two, one on each side, that seem equal, I strike them both out. If I find a Reason *pro* equal to some *two* Reasons *con*, I strike out the three. If I judge some two Reasons *con*, equal to some three Reasons *pro*,

I strike out the five; and thus proceeding I find at length where the Ballance lies; and if after a Day or two of farther Consideration, nothing new that is of Importance occurs on either side, I come to a Determination accordingly. And, tho' the Weight of Reasons cannot be taken with the Precision of Algebraic Quantities, yet, when each is thus considered, separately and comparatively, and the whole lies before me, I think I can judge better, and am less liable to make a rash Step; and in fact I have found great Advantage from this kind of Equation, in what may be called *Moral* or *Prudential Algebra.*

Wishing sincerely that you may determine for the best, I am ever, my dear Friend, yours most affectionately,

B. Franklin.

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608. TO MISS GEORGIANA SHIPLEY[1]

London, September 26, 1772.

Dear Miss,

I lament with you most sincerely the unfortunate end of poor Mungo. Few squirrels were better accomplished; for he had had a good education, had travelled far, and seen much of the world. As he had the honour of being, for his virtues, your favourite, he should not go, like common skuggs, without an elegy or an epitaph. Let us give him one in the monumental style and measure, which, being neither prose nor verse, is perhaps the properest for grief; since to use common language would look as if we were not affected, and to make rhymes would seem trifling in sorrow.

[1] A daughter of the Bishop of St. Asaph. See the Life of Franklin in this edition, Vol. X. — Ed.

EPITAPH.

Alas! poor MUNGO!
Happy wert thou, hadst thou known
Thy own felicity.
Remote from the fierce bald eagle,
Tyrant of thy native woods,
Thou hadst nought to fear from his piercing talons,
Nor from the murdering gun
Of the thoughtless sportsman.
Safe in thy wired castle,
GRIMALKIN never could annoy thee.
Daily wert thou fed with the choicest viands,
By the fair hand of an indulgent mistress;
But, discontented,
Thou wouldst have more freedom.
Too soon, alas! didst thou obtain it;
And wandering,
Thou art fallen by the fangs of wanton, cruel RANGER!

Learn hence,
Ye who blindly seek more liberty,
Whether subjects, sons, squirrels or daughters,
That apparent restraint may be real protection;
Yielding peace and plenty
With security.

You see, my dear Miss, how much more decent and proper this broken style is, than if we were to say, by way of epitaph,

Here SKUGG
Lies snug,
As a bug
In a rug.

and yet, perhaps, there are people in the world of so little feeling as to think that this would be a good-enough epitaph for poor Mungo.

If you wish it, I shall procure another to succeed him; but perhaps you will now choose some other amusement.

Remember me affectionately to all the good family, and believe me ever,

Your affectionate friend, B. FRANKLIN.

609. TO RICHARD PRICE[1] (P. C.)

Craven Street, Sept. 28, 1772.

Dear Sir, — Inclos'd I send you Dr. Priestly's last letter, of which a part is for you, he says; but the whole seems as proper for you as for me. I did not advise him *pro* or *con*, but only explain'd to him my method of judging for myself in doubtful cases, by what I called Prudential Algebra.

If he had come to town, and preach'd here sometimes, I fancy Sir John P. would now and then have been one of his hearers; for he likes his theology as well as his philosophy. Sir John has ask'd me if I knew where he could go to hear a preacher of *rational* Christianity. I told him I knew several of them, but did not know where their churches were in town; out of town, I mention'd yours at Newington, and offer'd to go with him. He agreed to it, but said we should first let you know our intention. I suppose, if nothing in his profession prevents, we may come, if you please, next Sunday; but if you sometimes preach in town, that will be most convenient to him, and I request you would by a line let me know when and where. If there are dissenting preachers of that sort at this end of the town, I wish you would recommend one to me, naming the place of his meeting. And if you please, give me a list of several, in different parts of the town, perhaps he may incline to take a round among them. At present I believe he has no view of attending constantly anywhere, but now and then only as it may suit his convenience. All this to yourself.

[1] The original is in the possession of Walter Ashburner, Esq., of London. — Ed.

My best respects to Mrs Price and Mrs Barker. With sincere wishes for your health and welfare, I am ever, my dear Friend

Yours most affectionately,

B. Franklin.

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610. TO RICHARD BACHE (D. S. W.)

London, Oct. 7, 1772.

Loving Son: — I receiv'd yours of Sept. 1, and am rejoic'd to hear you are all well. Your good Mother and Sisters were so about a Fortnight ago, when I heard from them. The Bill you sent me for £60, Whinney on Smith, Wright, & Grey, being good, I return your Note enclos'd and cancel'd. There remains Five Guineas unpaid, which you had of me just on going away, so I suppose you forgot it. Send it in a Venture for Ben to Jamaica. By the way, it has been reported here that some Years since a very long Building in that Island, which had a Rod or Conductor at each End, was nevertheless struck by Lightning in the middle and much damaged. Did you hear of such a Thing while you was there? If so pray enquire and learn the Particulars from thence, what kind of Rods, how plac'd, how high above the Roof, how deep in the Ground, and other material Circumstances with regard to the Building and the Damage. If you heard of no such Event while you was there, I suppose the Story is not true. But a Mr. Smith, who was there in some Business, and now here a Merchant, I think, relates it as what he heard spoken of when there.

I am surpris'd to hear that the Dutchman I assisted with 25 Guineas turned out a Rogue; and that Sheets has paid nothing of what I furnished him when here. I am afraid I do not grow wiser as I grow older. Pray let me know whether the Dutch printer, Armbruster, has paid anything, or is solvable or not. And also how the Affair stands of the Mortgage I had on my friend Maugridge's Plantation, no intelligible Information has yet been given me of it.

We are moving to another House in the same [mutilated] leaving this to Mr. Hewson. As soon as I am settled in my new Apartments I shall examine Parker's Acc^{ts} and write to you on them.

You hope I was not a Sufferer in the late general Wreck of Credit here. My two Banking-Houses, Browns & Collinson, and Smith, Wright & Grey, stood firm, and they were the only People here in Debt to me, so I lost nothing by the Failure of others; and being out of Debt myself, my Credit could not be shaken by any Run upon me; out of Debt, as the Proverb says, was being out of Danger. But I have since hazarded a little in using my Credit with the Bank to support that of a Friend as far as £5,000, for which I am secur'd by Bills of the Bank of Douglas, Heron, & Co., accepted by a good House here; and therefore I call it only hazarding *a little*, tho' the Sum is large enough to ruin me if I were to lose it. Our Friends, the Alexanders, went on again immediately, being supported by great Houses here and thro' them by the Bank, their Bottom being manifestly very great and good, tho' they had embarrassed themselves by assisting the Adams's and others.

The Affair of the Grant is in good Train, and we expect

it to be compleated soon after the Boards meet; if no new Difficulties start up unexpected.

My Love to Sally and the Boy.

I am your affectionate Father.

B. Franklin.

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611. TO JOHN BARTRAM[1]

London, Oct. 17, 1772.

My dear old Friend,

I received some time since the enclosed Letter from Dr. Hope; and lately the Gold Medal it mentions was delivered to me for you. By the first ship directly to Philadelphia, I shall send it in the Care of some safe Hand, thinking it not so well to hazard it with this Letter round through New York. Mr. Hope's Letter to you is not yet come to my hands.

I hope the Rhubarb you have sown and distributed will be taken care of. There seems to me no doubt of its doing as well with us as in Scotland. Remember that for Use the Root does not come to its Perfection of Power and Virtue in less than Seven Years. The Physicians here, who have try'd the Scotch, approve it much, and say it is fully equal to the best imported. I send you enclos'd a small Box of Upland Rice, brought from Cochin China. It grows there on dry Grounds, and not in Water like the common Sort. Also a few Seeds of the Chinese Tallow Tree. They have been carefully preserved in bringing hither by Mr. Ellis's Method. I had them from him, and he tells me they are in good Condition fit to vegetate. I hope they may grow under your skilful Care. My

[1] From the original in the Charles Roberts Collection of Autographs, Haverford College. — Ed.

love to Mrs. Bartram, and all yours, from your affectionate Friend, B. FRANKLIN.

612. TO LORD STIRLING[1] (D. S. W.)

London, Nov. 3. 1772

MY LORD: — On my Return to Town I found your Favour, with the Schemes of your Lottery, to which I wish Success, and besides ordering some Tickets for myself, I have spoken well of it on every Occasion; but I find little Inclination among my Acquaintance to engage in Lotteries at such a Distance, and one cannot be very open in promoting them, it being contrary to express Acts of Parliament, as well as offensive to Administration here, which would avail itself of all that is to be gain'd that Way.

With great and sincere Esteem, I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and most humble Serv.[t]

B. F.

613. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN (D. S. W.)

London, Nov. 3, 1772

DEAR SON: — I wrote to you per the October Packet, and have not since had any Line from you. I spent 16 Days at Lord Le Despencer's most agreably, and return'd in good Health and Spirits. Lord Dartmouth came to town last Week, and had his first Levee on Wednesday, at which I attended. He receiv'd me very politely in his Room, only Sec[y] Pownall

[1] William Alexander (1726–1783), who claimed to be the sixth Earl of Stirling. — ED.

present, expressing some Regret that he happened to be from home when I was near him in the Country, where he had hop'd for the Pleasure of seeing me, &c. I said I was happy to see his Lordship in his present Situation, in which for the good of both Countries I hoped he would long continue; and I begged Leave to recommend my Son to his Protection, who, says I, is one of your Governors in America. The Sec^{y} then put in — *And a very good Governor he is.* Yes, says my Lord, he has been a good Governor, and has kept his Province in good Order during Times of Difficulty. I then said that I came at present only to pay my Respects, and should wait on his Lordship another Day on Business; to which he said he should always be ready to hear me and glad to see me. I shall attend his Levee again to-day, on some N. England Affairs, and hope we may now go on more smoothly; but Time will show.

As the Boards are met again, the Ohio Affair will again be put forward as soon as Mr. Walpole comes to [town? mutilated in record], who went lately into Norfolk. I am almost settled in my new Apartment; but Removing, and sorting my Papers, and placing my Books and things has been a troublesome Job. I am amaz'd to see how Books have grown upon me since my Return to England. I brought none with me, and have now a Roomfull; many collected in Germany, Holland and France; and consisting chiefly of such as contain Knowledge that may hereafter be useful to America.

My Love to Betsey concludes at present from your affectionate Father

B. Franklin.

P. S. — I was this day again at Lord Dartmouth's Levee,

who show'd me particular Respect in sending for me out of the Crowd long before my Turn, and apologizing for having kept me so long by Means of Mr. Maseres's detaining him on Canada Affairs. He receiv'd my Business too very properly, not making any Objection to my acting as Agent for the Massachusetts without the Gov^rs Approbation of my Appointment, as his Predecessor had done. Whether this will continue or not, is now the Question; for as he has the same Secretaries, Pownall and Knox, probably they will remind him of the late Measures, and prompt him to continue them.

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614. TO PETER TIMOTHY[1] (D. S. W.)

London, Nov. 3, 1772.

Dear Sir: — I received yours of Aug. 24 by Capt Vanderhorst, to whom I should willingly have shown any Civilities in my Power, but I being goutly of late, seldom go into the City, and he has not called on me since he delivered your Letter. I am sorry you talk of leaving off your Business with a View of getting some Post. It is so difficult a matter to obtain anything of the kind, that I think to leave a good Trade in hopes of an Office, is quitting a Certainty for an Uncertainty, and losing Substance for Shadow. I have known so many here dangling and soliciting Years for Places, till they were reduc'd to the lowest Poverty and Distress, that I cannot but pity a Man who begins to turn his Thoughts that way. The Proverb says; *He who has a Trade has an*

[1] Clerk of the General Assembly in South Carolina. — Ed.

Office of Profit and Honour; because he does not hold it during any other Man's Pleasure, and it affords him honest Subsistence with Independence. I hope, therefore, you will alter your mind and go on with your Business. I assure you it is not in my Power to procure you that Post you mention or any other, whatever my wishes may be for your Prosperity. I am now thought here too much an American to have any Interest of the kind. You have done me Honour in giving a Son my Name. I wish he may live to be an Honour and Comfort to you. With my Compliments to Mrs. Timothy, I am ever,

Dear Sir, etc. B. F.

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615. TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS[1]

London, November 3, 1772.

Dear Cousin: — My sister, to whom I have not now time to write, acquainted me in her last letter that there was some expectation her daughter would soon be married with her consent.

If that should take place, my request is that you would lay out the sum of fifty pounds, lawful money, in bedding or such other furniture as my sister shall think proper to be given the new-married couple towards housekeeping, with my best wishes; and charge that sum to my account. I can now only add that I am ever

Yours most affectionately,

B. Franklin.

[1] From John Bigelow, "The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. IV, p. 535. — Ed.

616. TO THOMAS CUSHING[1]

London, November 4, 1772.

SIR,

Lord Dartmouth, our American minister, came to town last week, and held his first levee on Wednesday, when I paid my respects to him, acquainting him at the same time, that I should in a few days wait upon him, on business from Boston; which I have accordingly since done, and have put your petition to the King into his Lordship's hands, that being the regular course.

He received me very obligingly, made no objection to my acting as agent without an appointment assented to by the governor, as his predecessor had done, so that I hope business is getting into a better train. I shall use my best endeavours in supporting the petition, and write you more fully by the next ship to Boston. In the mean time I remain with great respect, your most obedient and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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617. TO THOMAS CUSHING (D. S. W.)

London, Dec. 2, 1772.

SIR,

The above is a Copy of my last. A few Days after my leaving your Petition with Lord Dartmouth, his Lordship sent for me to discourse with me upon it. After a long Audience, he was pleased to say, that, notwithstanding all I had said or that could be said, in Support and Justification of

[1] First printed by Sparks.

the Petition, he was sure the presenting it at this time could not possibly produce any good: That the King would be exceedingly offended, but what Steps his Majesty would take upon it was uncertain; perhaps he would require the Opinion of the Judges or Government Lawyers, which would surely be against us; perhaps he might lay it before Parliam^t^, and so the Censure of both Houses would be drawn down upon us. The most favourable thing to be expected was a severe Reprimand to the Assembly by Order of his Majesty the natural Consequence of which must be more Discontent and Uneasiness in the Province. That possess'd as he was with great Good will for New England, he was extreamly unwilling, that one of the first Acts of his Administration, with regard to the Massachusetts, should be of so unpleasant a Nature. That Minds had been heated and irritated on both Sides the Water, but he hoped those Heats were now cooling, and he was averse to the Addition of fresh Fuel. That as I had delivered the Petition to him officially, he must present it, if I insisted upon it; but he wished I would first consult my Constituents, who might possibly on Reconsideration think fit to order its being deferred.

I answered, that the great Majority with which the Petition and the Resolves on which it was founded were carried thro' the House, made it scarce expectable, that their Order would be countermanded; that the slighting, evading, or refusing to receive Petitions from the Colonies, on some late Occasions by the Parliament, had occasioned a total loss of the Respect for and Confidence in that Body, formerly subsisting so strongly in America, and brought on a Questioning of their Authority: That his Lordship might observe Petitions came no more from thence to Parliament, but to the

King only: That the King appeared now to be the only Connection between the two Countries; and that as a continued Union was essentially necessary to the Wellbeing of the Whole Empire, I should be sorry to see that Link weakened, as the other had been: That I thought it a dangerous Thing for any Governm^t^ to refuse receiving Petitions, and thereby prevent the Subjects from giving vent to their Griefs.

His L^p^ interrupted me by replying, that he did not refuse to deliver the Petition; that it should never justly be said of him, that he interrupted the Complaints of his Majesty's Subjects; and that he must and would present it, as he had said before, whenever I should absolutely require it; but from Motives of pure Good Will to the Province, he wish'd me not to insist on it, till I should receive fresh orders.

Finally, considering that since the Petition was ordered, there had been a Change in the American Administration, that the present minister was our Friend in the Repeal of the Stamp Act, and seems still to have good Dispositions towards us; that you had mentioned to me the Probability, that the House would have remonstrated on all their other Grievances, had not their Time been taken up with the difficult Business of a general Valuation; and since the Complaint of this Petition was likely alone to give Offence, it might perhaps be judg'd adviseable to give the Substance of all our Complaints at once, rather than in Parts and after a Reprimand received; I say upon the whole I thought it best not to disoblige him in the Beginning of his Administration, by refusing him what he seem'd so desirous of, a Delay at least in presenting the Petition, till farther Directions should be received from my Constituents. If after Deliberation they should send me fresh Orders, I shall immediately obey them, and the Applica-

tion to the Crown itself may possibly derive greater Weight from the Reconsideration given it, while the Temper of the House may be thought somewhat calmed by the Removal of a Minister, who had rendred himself so obnoxious to them. Accordingly, I consented to the Delay desired, wherein I hope my Conduct will not be disapproved.[1]

With the greatest Esteem and Respect, I have the Honour to be, Sir, your and the Committee's most obedient and most humble Servt,

B. Franklin.

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618. ANSWER TO M. DUBOURG'S QUERIES RESPECTING THE ARMONICA

London, December 8, 1772.

When the glasses are ranged on the horizontal spindle, or, to make use of your expression, *enfilés*, and each one is definitely fixed in its place, the whole of the largest glass appears, at the extremity to the left; the following one, nearly enclosed in the preceding one, shows only about an inch of its border, which advances so much further than the edge of the larger glass; and so, in succession, each glass exceeds the one containing it, leaving by this placement an uncovered border on which the fingers may be applied. The glasses do not touch one another, but they are so near as not to admit a finger to pass between them; so that the interior border is not susceptible of being rubbed.

The finger is to be applied flat on the borders of the largest

[1] The remainder of this letter is printed in the Tract on the Hutchinson Letters. — Ed.

glasses, and on the borders of the smaller; but in part on the borders, and in part on the edges, of the glasses of an intermediate size. Nothing but experience can instruct with respect to this manutation, (*fingering*,) because the different-sized glasses require to be touched differently, some nearer the edge, and others farther from it. A few hours' exercise will teach this.

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619. PREFACE,

OF THE BRITISH EDITOR

TO "THE VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE FREEHOLDERS AND OTHER INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN TOWN MEETING ASSEMBLED, ACCORDING TO LAW [PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE TOWN]. BOSTON, PRINTED: LONDON, REPRINTED; 1773."

On the 20th of November, 1772, there was a meeting of the inhabitants of Boston, at which was read a report of a committee, who had been appointed at a previous meeting. This report contained a view of the state of public affairs, touching largely on the rights of the colonists, and the infringement and violations of those rights by the British government. It was the boldest exposition of the American grievances, which had hitherto been made public, and was drawn up with as much ability as freedom.

Hutchinson says of this report of the committee, that, "although at its first appearance it was considered as their own work, yet they had little more to do than to make the necessary alterations in the arrangement of materials prepared for them by their great director in England, whose counsels they obeyed, and in whose wisdom and dexterity they had an implicit faith. Such principles in government were avowed, as would be sufficient to justify the colonies in revolting, and forming an independent state; and such instances were given of the infringement of their rights by the exercise of Parliamentary authority, as, upon like reasons, would justify an exception to the authority in all cases whatever; nevertheless, there was colour for alleging, that it was not 'ex-

pressly ' denied in ' every ' case. The whole frame of it, however, was calculated to strike the colonists with a sense of their just claim to independence, and to stimulate them to assert it."— *History of Massachusetts*, Vol. III, p. 364.

The person alluded to by Governor Hutchinson, as " the great director in England," was Dr. Franklin, and it is insinuated, that he was in effect the author of the report; but this is in no sense true; nor did he wholly approve the measures adopted at that meeting. He thought the affair was carried a little farther than the occasion required at the time, and was afraid that ill consequences would result. It was only the time and manner of bringing the subject forward, however, upon which he had any doubts. To the sentiments expressed in the report of the committee, and adopted by the inhabitants of the town, he fully assented. This is proved by his sending a copy of the proceedings to the press, as soon as he received it in London, with a prefatory notice written by himself. — S.

All Accounts of the Discontent so general in our Colonies, have of late Years been industriously smothered and concealed here; it seeming to suit the Views of the American Minister [1] to have it understood, that by his great Abilities all Faction was subdued, all Opposition suppressed, and the whole Country quieted. That the true State of Affairs there may be known, and the true Causes of that Discontent well understood, the following Piece (not the Production of a Private Writer, but the unanimous Act of a large American City), lately printed in New-England, is republished here. This Nation, and the other Nations of Europe, may thereby learn, with more Certainty, the Grounds of a Dissension, that possibly may, sooner or later, have Consequences interesting to them all.

The Colonies had, from their first Settlement, been governed with more Ease, than perhaps can be equalled by any Instance in History, of Dominions so distant. Their Affec-

[1] Lord Hillsborough. This nobleman, already first Lord of Trade, was introduced in 1768 into the *new-titled office* of Secretary of State for the Colonies. — V.

tion and Respect for this Country, while they were treated with Kindness, produced an almost implicit Obedience to the Instructions of the Prince, and even to Acts of the British Parliament; though the Right of binding them by a Legislature in which they were unrepresented, was never clearly understood. That Respect and Affection produced a Partiality in favour of every thing that was English; whence their preference of English Modes and Manufactures; their Submission to Restraints on the Importation of Foreign Goods, which they had but little Desire to use; and the Monopoly we so long enjoyed of their Commerce, to the great enriching of our Merchants and Artificers.

The mistaken Policy of the Stamp-Act first disturbed this happy Situation; but the Flame thereby raised was soon extinguished by its Repeal, and the old Harmony restored, with all its concomitant Advantages to our Commerce. The subsequent Act of another administration, which, not content with an established Exclusion of Foreign Manufactures, began to make our own Merchandize dearer to the Consumers there by heavy Duties, revived it again: And Combinations were entered into throughout the Continent, to stop Trading with Britain till those Duties should be repealed. All were accordingly repealed but One, *the Duty on Tea*. This was reserved (professedly so) as a standing Claim and Exercise of the Right assumed by Parliament of laying such Duties.

The Colonies, on this Repeal, retracted their Agreement, so far as related to all other Goods, except that on which the Duty was retained. This was trumpeted *here* by the Minister for the Colonies as a Triumph; *there* it was considered only as a decent and equitable Measure, shewing a Willingness to *meet* the Mother Country in every Advance towards a Rec-

onciliation. And the Disposition to a good Understanding was so prevalent, that possibly they might soon have relaxed in the Article of Tea also. But the System of Commissioners of Customs, Officers without end, with Fleets and Armies for collecting and enforcing those Duties, being continued, and these acting with much Indiscretion and Rashness, (giving great and unnecessary Trouble and Obstruction to Business, commencing unjust and vexatious Suits, and harassing Commerce in all its Branches, while that Minister kept the People in a constant State of Irritation by Instructions, which appeared to have no other End than the gratifying his Private Resentments,) occasioned a persevering Adherence to their Resolutions in that Particular: And the Event should be a Lesson to Ministers, not to risque through Pique, the obstructing any one Branch of Trade, since the Course and Connection of General Business may be thereby disturbed to a Degree impossible to be foreseen or imagined. For it appears, that the Colonies finding their Humble Petitions to have this Duty repealed, were rejected and treated with Contempt, and that the Produce of the Duty was applied to the rewarding with undeserved Salaries and Pensions every one of their Enemies, the Duty itself became more odious, and their Resolution to starve it more vigorous and obstinate.

The Dutch, the Danes, and French, took the Advantage thus offered them by our Imprudence, and began to smuggle their Teas into the Plantations. At first this was something difficult; but at length, as all Business improves by Practice, it became easy. A Coast, 1500 Miles in Length, could not in all Parts be guarded, even by the whole Navy of England, especially where the restraining Authority was by all the Inhabitants deemed unconstitutional, and Smuggling of

course considered as Patriotism. The needy Wretches too, who with small Salaries, were trusted to watch the Ports Day and Night, in all Weathers, found it easier and more profitable, not only to *wink*, but to sleep in their Beds, the Merchant's Pay being more generous than the King's. Other India Goods, also, which by themselves, would not have made a Smuggling Voyage sufficiently profitable, accompanied Tea to Advantage; and it is feared the cheap French Silks, formerly rejected, as not to the Taste of the Colonies, may have found their way with the Wares of India, and now established themselves in the popular Use and Opinion.

It is supposed, that at least a Million of Americans drink Tea twice a Day, which, at the first Cost here, can scarce be reckoned at less than Half a Guinea a Head *per Annum*. This Market, that in the five Years which have run on since the Act passed, would have paid 2,500,000 Guineas *for Tea alone*, into the Coffers of the Company, we have wantonly lost to Foreigners.

Meanwhile, it is said, the Duties have so diminished, that the whole Remittance of the last Year amounted to no more than the pitiful Sum of 85 Pounds,[1] for the Expence of some Hundred Thousands, in armed Ships and Soldiers, to support the Officers. Hence the Tea, and other India Goods, which might have been sold in America, remain rotting in the Company's Warehouses; while those of Foreign Ports are known to be cleared by the American Demand. Hence, in some Degree, the Company's Inability to pay their Bills; the sink-

[1] "*Eighty-five pounds*, I am assured, my Lords, is the whole equivalent we have received for all the hatred and mischief, and all the infinite losses this kingdom has suffered during that year, in her disputes with North America." See the Bishop of St. Asaph's "Speech, *intended to have been spoken*." — V.

ing of their Stock, by which Millions of Property have been annihilated; the lowering of their Dividend, whereby so many must be distressed; the Loss to Government of the stipulated 400,000 Pounds a Year, which must make a proportionable Reduction in our Savings towards the Discharge of our enormous Debt; and hence, in part, the severe Blow suffered by Credit in general, to the Ruin of many Families; the Stagnation of Business in Spital-Fields and at Manchester, through want of Vent for their Goods; with other future Evils, which, as they cannot, from the numerous and secret Connections in General Commerce, easily be foreseen, can hardly be avoided.

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620. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (D. S. W.)

London, Dec. 1, 1772.

My Dear Child: — I received yours of Oct. 14, and one without Date which I suppose to be written since. Capts. All, Osborne, and Sparkes are arrived; and a Barrel of Apples with another of Cranberries are come, I know not yet by which of them.

I am glad to hear you continue so well, and that the Pains in your Side and Head have left you. Eat light Foods, such as Fowls, Mutton, etc., and but little Beef or Bacon, avoid strong Tea, and use what Exercise you can; by these Means you will preserve your Health better, and be less subject to Lowness of Spirits.

It seems Polly Pitts is really dead. I suppose you know that we have a Mortgage on her Lotts? Mr. Galloway took it for me. You do not tell me whether any thing has

been done about it; or whether any Interest was ever paid. Nor have you ever told me whether Mr. Maugridge's Executors have paid off his Mortgage to me, and that to the Insurance Office. I wish you would.

Give my Love to Mrs. Montgomery and all enquiring Friends. Mrs. Stevenson and Polly Hewson and Sally Franklin present their Love, the latter adds her Duty. She is about to be married to a Farmer's Son. I shall miss her, as she is nimble-footed and willing to run of Errands and wait upon me, and has been very serviceable to me for some Years, so that I have not kept a Man.

I am ever my dear Debby, your affectionate Husband,

B. F.

P. S.— Have just opened the Apples and Cranberries, which I find in good order, all sound. Thanks for your kind Care in sending them.

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621. TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY[1] (D. S. W.)

London, Dec. 2, 1772.

DEAR FRIEND,

. . . I am glad you are returned again to a Seat in the Assembly, where your Abilities are so useful and necessary in the Service of your Country. We must not in the Course of Publick Life expect *immediate* Approbation and *immediate* grateful Acknowledgment of our Services. But let us persevere thro' Abuse and even Injury. The internal Satisfaction of a good Conscience is always present, and Time will do us

[1] A paragraph at the beginning of the letter is omitted. It contains the acknowledgment of some Bills of Exchange. — ED.

Justice in the Minds of the People, even of those at present the most prejudic'd against us.

I have given Dr. Denormandie a Recommendation to a Friend in Geneva, for which Place he set out this Morning; and I shall be glad of any Opportunity of serving him when he returns to London. I see by the *Pens Gazette*, of Oct. 21, that you are continued Speaker, and myself Agent; but I have no Line from you or the Committee relative to Instructions. Perhaps I shall hear from you by Falconer. I find myself upon very good Terms with our new Minister, Lord Dartmouth, who we have reason to think means well to the Colonies. I believe all are now sensible, that nothing is to be got by contesting with or oppressing us.

Two Circumstances have diverted me lately. One was, that being at the court of Exchequer on some Business of my own, I met there with one of the Commissioners of the Stamp Office, who told me he attended with a Memorial from that Board, to be allowed in their Accounts the Difference between their Expence in endeavouring to establish those Offices in America, and the Amount of what they received, which from Canada and the W. India Islands was but about 1500 £, while the Expence, if I remember right was above 12,000 £, being for Stamps and Stamping, with Paper and Parchment return'd upon their Hands, Freight, &c. The other is the present Difficulties of the India Company, and of Government on their Acct. The Compa have accepted Bills, which they find themselves unable to pay, tho' they have the Value of Two Millions in Tea and other India Goods in their Stores, perishing under a Want of Demand; their Credit thus suffering, and their Stock falling 120 pct. The Bank will not advance for them, and no Remedy is thought

of but lowering their Dividend from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per Cent, whereby Government will lose the 400,000 £ per ann, it having been stipulated that it should no longer be paid, if the Dividend fell to that Mark. And, altho' it is known, that the American Market is lost by continuing the Duty on Tea, and that we are supply'd by the Dutch, who doubtless take the Opportunity of Smuggling other India Goods among us with the Tea, so that for the 5 Years past we might probably have otherwise taken off the greatest Part of what the Comp[a] have on hand, and so have prevented their present Embarrasment, yet the Honour of Government is suppos'd to forbid the Repeal of the American Tea Duty; while the Amount of all the Duties goes on decreasing, so that the Ballance of this Year does not (as I have it from good Authority) exceed 80 £, after paying the Collection; not reckoning the immense Expence of *Guarda-Costas*, &c. Can an American forbear smiling at these Blunders? Tho', in a national Light, they are truly deplorable.

With the sincerest Esteem and inviolable Attachment, I am, my dear Friend, ever most affectionately yours,

B. FRANKLIN.

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622. TO ABEL JAMES (D. S. W.)

London, Dec. 2, 1772.

DEAR FRIEND:—I duly received your Favours of Sept. 22 and Oct. 9, and am glad the Purchase proves acceptable. Our Friend Dr. Evans [1] has remitted me the Bill you mention, drawn for the Produce of the Silk. It exceeds what I paid,

[1] Cadwallader Evans. — ED.

and I wait Orders for the Disposition of the Overplus, particularly what I am to pay Wheeler for his Services in the Business.

I do not at this Distance understand the Politics of your last Election, why so many of the Members declin'd the Service, and why yourself and Mr. Fox were omitted (which I much regret) while Goddard was voted for by so great a Number. Another Year I hope will set all right. The People seldom continue long in the wrong, when it is nobody's Interest to mislead them. It must be very discouraging to our Friend Galloway, to see his long and faithful Services repaid with Abuse and Ingratitude; but let him persevere in well-doing and all will end well, and to his final Satisfaction. And tho' it may be inconvenient to your private Affairs to attend Publick Business, I hope neither you nor Mr. Fox will thro' Resentment of the present Slight, decline the Service when again called upon by your Country.

With great and sincere Esteem, I am ever, dear Sir, your affectionate Friend and most obedient Servant,

B. F.

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623. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN (D. S. W.)

London, Dec. 2, 1772.

Dear Son: — I have received yours of Oct. 4, 8, and 13. I cannot imagine what became of my Letter of Augt 3 from May Place. It was, however of no great Importance. Mr. Denormandie is gone this Day to Geneva. I gave him a Letter of Recommendation to a Friend there.

I am persuaded that your Packets were not open'd at the

Office; for tho' a Secretary of the State has the Power of ordering Letters to be opened, I think it is seldom used but in times of War, Rebellion, or on some great publick Occasion, and I have heard they have Means of copying the Seal so exactly, as that it cannot be discovered that the Letters have been look'd into.

It is plain therefore, that whoever rubb'd your Packets open, had not the Use of such Means. And yet as you are satisfy'd it was not done on your Side the Water, I suspect the Letter-Carrier might be corrupted and the Business done between the Office in Lombard Street and my House. When a Packet arrives, a special Messenger goes directly from the Office with the publick Letters before the Sorting is finished. Mine has been sometimes sent by the same Messenger, who call'd on me in his Way to Lord H.'s, sometimes in his Return, and as he told Mr. Strahan that his Letters to you were often return'd to me from America, and yours to him sent thro' my Hands to be seen he suppos'd by me before Delivery; and since his Resignation your Packets do not appear to have suffered the least Violation, I fancy the Rubbing them open may possibly have been the Ingenuity of Mr. Sec^{ry} Knox. By the List you have sent me I find none of the Papers missing. Another Circumstance in favour of this Opinion is, that no Letters to me were thus abused but yours and those from the Assembly of Boston. This I think clears the Person you suspected, and rather fixes the above Conjecture.

I have not seen your Speech at the Opening of your last Session, but I hear it has been commended by the Ministry.

I return Mr. Foxcroft's Letters as you desire. I make no Remarks on the Reports he mentions. I know not who is meant by the *Hero of your Speech.* Nor will I say more at

present of the Ohio Affair, than that it is not yet quite secure, and therefore I still advise Discretion in speaking of it.

Dr. Price has been so good as to give me his Opinion of your Scheme, which I send, hoping it may be of Use; I suppose that you have his Book, referr'd to in the Paper. Some Acknowledgment or Thanks should be sent him for the Trouble he has taken.

I continue very well, Thanks to God. On Monday last I was chosen into the Council of the Royal Society for the 4th time. Our Friend Sir John Pringle was elected President, which is very agreable to him.

I shall send you a Tea-Urn by the first Ship. I just now hear that the November Packet is arrived, so I stop here till I receive the Letters that come by her. [These words are crossed out in the record, apparently in the same ink.]

Just now comes to hand yours of Nov. 3, whereby I find mine of Aug. 3 is received. I am glad to learn that you and your neighbouring Governors are so sociable. I shall communicate what you write about the Virginia Grants. At present I can only add that I am, with Love to Betsey,

Your ever affectionate Father,

B. Franklin.

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624. TO BARBEU DUBOURG (A. P. S.)

London, Dec. 26. 1772/

Dear Sir,

Last Night I received your Favour of the 19th per Post, which I think is the best Conveyance for our Letters without any indirect Address; for I perceive that not only the little Piece which I sent on the 14th Inst. but a long Letter of the

8th have miscarried. With the first I only thank'd you for the Square of 11000, & made a short Remark of some Imperfection I observ'd in it, and told you I had some where a square of 8, with the Diagonals you requir'd, wch I would send you if I could find it. — I also mentioned that I deferr'd sending the other Pieces you directed, till I should hear from you that the first was correct. — Nevertheless they went the Week following, and I suppose have likewise miscarried. I shall write over again the Purport of my Letter of the 8th & send it with this. And as I pay no Postage here, I would request that for the future you would keep a little Acct of what you pay there, and we will divide that Expence between us. — Only I wish you to let me know how I may make my Letters cheapest, i.e. whether Letters are paid for in Paris according to their Weight, or according to the Number of Pieces of Paper as here.

Page 179 *Binnacle*, Boyer explains this under the Word *Bittacle*, which is the same thing, tho' the first is more agreable to the common Pronunciation. —

P. 209. — it ought to be 1756, and not 1754 —

P. 219. *Acrement — close*, is a proper Name, the Name of a particular Field —

P. 225. It should be, *a Point as at P. in Fig. 2.*

P. 231. What you say on the Fixing of Salt, may be put in a Note of the Translator. —

P. 253. *after a warm Spell.* Spell is a Vulgar English Word, therefore improper. It should have been after a warm *Season.*

P. 266. — there make another Note of the Translator.

P. 278. — A Surveyor's *Chain* meant here, is four Poles or 66 feet.

P. 311. — *Outward Warmth* — It is not a "chaleur exterieure que l'on eprouve en entrant dans une Chambre pour y prendre le bain froid," that would indeed be unintelligible. As the Passage seems difficult, I have got my Clerk who is of French Extraction, to put it into his French, which perhaps you will understand better than my English. ——

I will as you desire send to Mess^ers^ Dilly & enquire for the Amer^n^ Transactions. If it is not come there, I shall send you another by the first Opportunity. — I am sure the President of that Society can have but one Objection to your translating their Book, which is, an Apprehension that the Sale of it will not pay for the Trouble & Expence of printing; and the Society must esteem it great Honour to them to enroll you among their foreign Members. —

I have not the least Objection to your making what Notes you please in the Translation. I only wish I could have the Advantage of seeing them before my new Edition is printed in English. —

Mlle Biheron has been indispos'd, but is now well again. We join in the Wishes of the Season for you & Mad^e^ Dubourg. I am ever

Yours most affectionately

B. F.

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625. SETTLEMENT ON THE OHIO RIVER

This paper relates to what has been commonly called *Walpole's Grant*. The history of it will be found in the Life of Franklin in Volume X of this edition.

The following "Report of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations" was drawn up by Lord Hillsborough,

at that time President of the Board of Trade, who opposed the petition. Franklin replied to the "Report" in so convincing a manner that when the subject was again brought before the Privy Council (July 1, 1772), and his Answer was read, the petition was granted, although the Council seldom decided against the Reports of the Board of Trade. See Franklin's letter to Joseph Galloway, August 22, 1772; and his letter to Governor Franklin, July 14, 1773.

Lord Hillsborough's Report and Franklin's Answer were published in Almon's "Biographical, Literary and Political Anecdotes of Several of the most eminent Persons of the Present Age, London 1797," Volume II, p. 303.[1] "Lord Hillsborough was so much offended by the decision of the Privy Council, that he resigned upon it. He resigned for that reason only. He had conceived an idea, and was forming the plan, of a boundary line to be drawn from the Hudson River to the Mississippi, and thereby confining the British colonies between that line and the ocean, similar to the scheme of the French after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which brought on the War of 1756. His favorite project being thus defeated, he quitted the ministry. Dr. Franklin's answer to the Report of the Board of Trade was intended to have been published; but Lord Hillsborough resigning, Dr. Franklin stopped the sale on the morning of the publication, when not above *five* copies had been disposed of" (Almon). — Ed.

[1] This volume contains also Franklin's Letters to Shirley. — Ed.

REPORT

Of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, on the Petition of the Honourable Thomas Walpole and his Associates, for a Grant of Lands on the River Ohio, in North America.

"My Lords,

"Pursuant to your Lordships' order of the 25th May, 1770, we have taken into our consideration the humble memorial of the Honorable Thomas Walpole, Benjamin Franklin, John Sargent, and Samuel Wharton, Esqs., in behalf of themselves and their associates, setting forth among other things, 'That they presented a petition to his Majesty in Council, for a grant of lands in America (*parcel* of the lands purchased by government of the Indians) in consideration of a price to be paid in purchase of the same; *that, in pursuance of a suggestion which arose when the said petition was under consideration of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, the memorialists presented a petition to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, proposing to purchase a larger tract of land on the River Ohio in America, sufficient for a separate government; whereupon their Lordships were pleased to acquaint the memorialists, they had no objection to accepting the proposals made by them, with respect to the purchase money and quitrent to be paid for the said tract of land, if it should be thought advisable by those departments of government, to whom it belonged to judge of the propriety of the grant, both in point of policy and justice, that the grant should be made; in consequence whereof the memorialists humbly renew their application, that a grant of said lands may be made to them, *reserving therein to all persons their just and legal rights to any parts or parcels of said lands, which may be comprehended within the tract prayed for by the memorialists*;' whereupon we beg leave to report to your Lordships,

"I. That according to the description of the tract of land prayed for by the memorialists, which description is annexed to their memorial, it appears to us to contain part of the dominion of Virginia, to the south of the River Ohio, and to extend several degrees of longitude westward from the western ridge of the Appalachian Mountains, as will more fully appear to your Lordships from the annexed sketch of the said tract, which we have since caused to be delineated with as much exactness as possible, and herewith submit to your Lordships, to the end that your Lordships may judge, with the greater precision, of the situation of the lands prayed for in the memorial.

"II. From this sketch your Lordships will observe, that a very considerable part of the lands prayed for lies beyond the line, which has, in consequence of his Majesty's orders for that purpose, been settled by treaty, as well with the tribes of the Six Nations and their confederates, as with the Cherokee Indians, as the boundary line between his Majesty's territories and

their hunting grounds : and as the faith of the crown is pledged in the most solemn manner, both to the Six Nations and to the Cherokees, that, notwithstanding the former of these nations had ceded the property in the lands to his Majesty, yet no settlement shall be made beyond that line, it is our duty to report to your Lordships our opinion, that it would on that account be highly improper to comply with the request of the memorial, *so far as it includes any lands beyond the said line.*

"It remains, therefore, that we report to your Lordships our opinion, how far it may consist with good policy and with justice, that his Majesty should comply with that part of the memorial which relates to those lands, which are situated to the east of that line, and are part of the dominion of Virginia.

"III. And, first, with regard to the policy, we take leave to remind your Lordships of that principle, which was adopted by this Board, and approved and confirmed by his Majesty, immediately after the treaty of Paris, viz. the confining the western extent of settlements to such a distance from the seacoast, as that those settlements should lie *within the reach of the trade and commerce of this kingdom*, upon which the strength and riches of it depend, and also of the exercise of that authority and jurisdiction, which was conceived to be necessary for the preservation of the colonies in a due subordination to, and dependence upon, the mother country. And these we apprehend to have been two capital objects of his Majesty's proclamation of the 7th of October, 1763, by which his Majesty declares it to be his royal will and pleasure, to reserve under his sovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the *use* of the Indians, all the lands not included within the three new governments, the limits of which are described therein, as also all the lands and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers, which fall into the sea from the west and northwest ; and by which all persons are forbid to make any purchases or settlements whatever, or to take possession of any of the lands above reserved, without special license for that purpose.

"IV. It is true indeed, that partly from *want of precision* in describing the line intended to be marked out by the proclamation of 1763, and partly from a consideration of justice *in regard to legal titles to lands*, which had been settled beyond that line, it has been since thought fit to enter into engagements with the Indians, for fixing a more precise and determinate *boundary* between his Majesty's territories and their hunting grounds.

"V. By this *boundary*, so far as regards the case now in question, your Lordships will observe, that the hunting grounds of the Indians are reduced within narrower limits, than were specified by the proclamation of 1763. We beg leave, however, to submit to your Lordships, that the same principles of policy, in reference to settlements *at so great a distance* from the seacoast *as to be out of the reach of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom*, continue to exist in their full force and spirit ; and, though various propositions for erecting new colonies in the interior parts of America have been, in con-

sequence of this extension of the boundary line, submitted to the consideration of government, (particularly in that part of the country wherein are situated the lands now prayed for, with a view to that object,) yet the dangers and disadvantages of complying with such proposals have been so obvious, as to defeat every attempt made for carrying them into execution.

"VI. Many objections, besides those which we have already stated, occur to us to propositions of this kind; but as *every argument* on this subject is *collected together, with great force and precision,* in a representation made to his Majesty by the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations in March, 1768, we beg leave to state them to your Lordships in their words.

"In that representation they deliver their opinion upon a proposition for settling new colonies in the interior country as follows, *viz.*

"'The proposition of forming inland colonies in America is, we humbly conceive, entirely new: It adopts principles in respect to American settlements, different from what has hitherto been the policy of this kingdom, and leads to a system, which, if pursued through all its consequences, is, in the present state of that country, of the greatest importance.

"'The great object of colonizing upon the continent of North America has been to improve and extend the commerce, navigation, and manufactures of this kingdom, upon which its strength and security depend.

"'1. By promoting the advantageous fishery carried on upon the northern coast.

"'2. By encouraging the growth and culture of naval stores, and of raw materials, to be transported hither in exchange for perfect manufactures and other merchandise.

"'3. By securing a supply of lumber, provisions, and other necessaries, for the support of our establishments in the American islands.

"'In order to answer these salutary purposes it has been the policy of this kingdom to confine her settlements, as much as possible to the seacoast, and not to extend them to places inaccessible to shipping, and consequently more out of the reach of commerce; a plan, which, at the same time that it secured the attainment of these commercial objects, had the further political advantage of guarding against all interfering of foreign powers, and of enabling this kingdom to keep up a superior naval force in those seas, by the actual possession of such rivers and harbours, as were proper stations for fleets in time of war.

"'Such, may it please your Majesty, have been the considerations inducing that plan of policy hitherto pursued in the settlement of your Majesty's American colonies, with which the private interest and sagacity of the settlers coöperated from the first establishments formed upon that continent. It was upon these principles, and with these views, that government undertook the settling of Nova Scotia in 1749; and it was from a view of the advantages represented to arise from it in these different articles, that it was so liberally supported by the aid of Parliament.

"'The same motives, though operating in a less degree, and applying to fewer objects, did, as we humbly conceive, induce the forming the colonies of Georgia, East Florida, and West Florida, to the south, and the making those provincial arrangements in the proclamation of 1763, by which the interior country was left to the possession of the Indians.

"'Having thus briefly stated what has been the policy of this kingdom in respect to colonizing in America, it may be necessary to take a cursory view of what has been the effect of it in those colonies, where there has been sufficient time for that effect to discover itself; because, if it shall appear from the present state of these settlements, and the progress they have made, that they are likely to produce the advantages above stated, it will, we humbly apprehend, be a very strong argument against forming settlements in the interior country; more especially, when every advantage, derived from an established government, would naturally tend to draw the stream of population; fertility of soil and temperature of climate offering superior incitements to settlers, who, exposed to few hardships, and struggling with few difficulties, could, with little labour, earn an abundance for their own wants, but without a possibility of supplying ours with any considerable quantities. Nor would these inducements be confined in their operation to foreign emigrants, determining their choice where to settle, but would act most powerfully upon the inhabitants of the northern and southern latitudes of your Majesty's American dominions; who, ever suffering under the opposite extremes of heat and cold, would be equally tempted by a moderate climate to abandon latitudes peculiarly adapted to the production of those things, which are by nature denied to us; and for the whole of which we should, without their assistance, stand indebted to, and dependent upon, other countries.

"'It is well known that antecedent to the year 1749, all that part of the seacoast of the British empire in America, which extends northeast from the province of Main to Canceau in Nova Scotia, and from thence to the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, lay waste and neglected; though naturally affording, or capable by art of producing, every species of naval stores; the seas abounding with whale, cod, and other valuable fish, and having many great rivers, bays, and harbours, fit for the reception of ships of war. Thus circumstanced, a consideration of the great commercial advantages, which would follow from securing the possession of this country, combined with the evidence of the value set upon it by our enemies, who, during the war which terminated at that period, had, at an immense expence, attempted to wrest it from us, induced that plan, for the settlement of Nova Scotia, to which we have before referred; and which, being prosecuted with vigour, though at a very large expence to this kingdom, secured the possession of that province, and formed those establishments which contributed so greatly to facilitate and promote the success of your Majesty's arms in the late war.

"'The establishment of government in this part of America, having

opened to the view and information of your Majesty's subjects in other colonies the great commercial advantages to be derived from it, induced a zeal for migration; and associations were formed for taking up lands, and making settlements, in this province, by principal persons residing in these colonies.

"'In consequence of these associations, upwards of ten thousand souls have passed from those colonies into Nova Scotia, who have either engaged in the fisheries, or become exporters of lumber and provisions to the West Indies. And further settlements, to the extent of twenty-one townships, of one hundred thousand acres each, have been engaged to be made there, by many of the principal persons in Pennsylvania, whose names and association for that purpose now lie before your Majesty in Council.

"'The government of Massachusetts Bay, as well as the proprietors of large tracts to the eastward of the province of Main, excited by the success of these settlements, are giving every encouragement to the like settlements in that valuable country lying between them and Nova Scotia; and the proprietors of the twelve townships lately laid out there, by the Massachusetts government, now solicit your Majesty for a confirmation of their title.

"'Such, may it please your Majesty, is the present state of the progress making in the settlement of the northern parts of the seacoasts of North America, in consequence of what appears to have been the policy adopted by this kingdom; and many persons of rank and substance here are proceeding to carry into execution the plan, which your Majesty (pursuing the same principles of commercial policy) has approved, for the settlement of the islands of St. John and Cape Breton, and of the new-established colonies to the south; and, therefore, as we are fully convinced, that the encouraging settlements upon the seacoast of North America is founded in the true principles of commercial policy; and as we find, upon examination, that the happy effects of that policy are now beginning to open themselves, in the establishment of those branches of commerce, culture, and navigation, upon which the strength, wealth, and security of this kingdom depend; we cannot be of opinion, that it would in any view be advisable to divert your Majesty's subjects in America, from the pursuit of those important objects, by adopting measures of a new policy, *at an expence to this kingdom, which in its present state it is unable to bear.*

"'This, may it please your Majesty, being the light in which we view the proposition of colonizing in the interior country, considered as a general principle of policy; we shall, in the next place, proceed to examine the several arguments urged in support of the particular establishments now recommended.

"'These arguments appear to us reducible to the following general propositions, viz.

"'First, That such colonies will promote population, and increase the demands for, and consumption of, British manufactures.

"'Secondly, That they will secure the fur trade, and prevent an illicit trade, or interfering of French or Spaniards with the Indians.

"'Thirdly, That they will be a defence and protection to the old colonies against the Indians.

"'Fourthly, That they will contribute to lessen the present heavy expence of supplying provisions to the distant forts and garrisons.

"'Lastly, That they are necessary in respect to the inhabitants already residing in those places, where they are proposed to be established, who require some form of civil government.

"'After what we have already stated, with respect to the policy of encouraging colonies in the interior country as a general principle, we trust it will not be necessary to enter into an ample discussion of the arguments brought to support the foregoing propositions.

"'We admit, as an undeniable principle of true policy, that, with a view to prevent manufactures, it is necessary and proper to open an extent of territory for colonization proportioned to the increase of people, as a large number of inhabitants cooped up in narrow limits, without a sufficiency of land for produce, would be compelled to convert their attention and industry to manufactures; but we submit whether the encouragement given to the settlement of the colonies upon the seacoast, and the effect which such encouragement has had, have not already effectually provided for this object, as well as for increasing the demand for, and consumption of, British manufactures, an advantage which, in our humble opinion, would not be promoted by these new colonies, which being proposed to be established at the distance of *above fifteen hundred miles from the sea*, and in places which, upon the fullest evidence, are found to be utterly inaccessible to shipping, will, from their inability to find returns wherewith to pay for the manufactures of Great Britain, be probably led to manufacture for themselves; a consequence which experience shews has constantly attended in greater or lesser degree every inland settlement, and therefore ought, in our humble opinion, to be carefully guarded against, by *encouraging* the settlement of that extensive tract of seacoast hitherto unoccupied; *which, together with the liberty that the inhabitants of the middle colonies will have* (in consequence of *the proposed boundary line with the Indians*) of *gradually extending themselves backwards*, will more effectually and beneficially answer the object of encouraging population and consumption, than the erection of new governments. Such gradual extension might, through the medium of a continued population, upon even the same extent of territory, preserve a communication of mutual commercial benefits between its extremest parts and Great Britain, *impossible to exist in colonies separated by immense tracts of unpeopled desart.*

"'As to the effect which it is supposed the colonies may have to increase and promote the fur trade, and to prevent all contraband trade or intercourse between the Indians under your Majesty's protection, and the French or

Spaniards; it does appear to us, that the extension of the fur trade depends entirely upon the Indians being undisturbed in the possession of their hunting grounds; that all colonizing does in its nature, and must in its consequences, operate to the prejudice of that branch of commerce; and that the French and Spaniards would be left in possession of a great part of what remained; as New Orleans would still continue the best and surest market.

"'As to the protection, which it is supposed these new colonies may be capable of affording to the old ones, it will, in our opinion, appear upon the slightest view of their situation, that, so far from affording protection to the old colonies, they will stand most in need of it themselves.

"'It cannot be denied, that new colonies would be of advantage in raising provisions for the supply of such forts and garrisons, as may be kept up in the neighbourhood of them; but, as the degree of utility will be proportioned to the number and situation of these forts and garrisons, which, upon the result of the present inquiry, it may be thought advisable to continue, so the force of argument will depend upon that event.

"'The present French inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the Lakes will, in our humble opinion, be sufficient to furnish with provisions whatever posts may be necessary to be continued there; and as there are also French inhabitants settled in some parts of the country lying upon the Mississippi, between the rivers Illinois and the Ohio, it is to be hoped that a sufficient number of these may be induced to fix their abode, where the same convenience and advantage may be derived from them. But, if no such circumstance were to exist, and no such assistance to be expected from it, the objections stated to the plan now under our consideration are superior to this, or any other advantage it can produce; and, although civil establishments have frequently rendered the expence of an armed force necessary for their protection, one of the many objections to these now proposed, yet we humbly presume there never has been an instance of a government instituted merely with a view to supply a body of troops with suitable provisions; nor is it necessary in these instances for the settlements, already existing as above described, which, being formed under military establishments, and ever subjected to military authority, do not, in our humble opinion, require any other superintendence than that of the military officers commanding at these posts.'

"In addition to this opinion of the Board of Trade, expressed in the foregoing recital, we further beg leave to refer your Lordships to the opinion of the commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in North America, who, in a letter laid before us by the Earl of Hillsborough, delivers his sentiments with regard to settlements in the interior parts of America in the following words, *viz.*

"VII. 'As to increasing the settlements to respectable provinces, and to colonization *in general terms* in the *remote* countries, I conceive it altogether inconsistent with sound policy; for there is little appearance that the advan-

tages will arise from it, which nations expect when they send out colonies into *foreign countries*. They can give no encouragement to the fishery, and, though the country might afford some kind of naval stores, the distance would be too far to transport them; and for the same reason they could not supply the sugar islands with lumber and provisions. As for the raising wine, silk, and other commodities, the same may be said of the present colonies without planting others for the purpose at so vast a distance: but, on the supposition that they would be raised, their very long transportation must probably make them too dear for any market.

"'I do not apprehend the inhabitants could have any commodities to barter for manufactures, except skins and furs, which will naturally decrease, as the country increases in people, and the desarts are cultivated; so that in the course of a few years necessity would force them to provide manufactures of some kind for themselves; and, when all connection upheld by commerce with the mother country shall cease, it may be expected, that an independency on her government will soon follow; the pretence of forming barriers will have no end; wherever we settle, however remote, there must be a frontier; and there is room enough for the colonists to spread within our present limits, for a century to come.

"'If we reflect how the people of themselves have gradually retired from the coast, we shall be convinced they want no encouragement to desert the seacoast, and go into the back countries, where the lands are better and got upon easier terms; they are already almost out of the reach of law and government; neither the endeavours of government, or fear of Indians, has kept them properly within bounds; and it is apparently most for the interest of Great Britain to confine the colonies on the side of the back country, and to direct their settlements along the seacoast, where millions of acres are yet uncultivated. The lower provinces are still thinly inhabited and brought to the point of perfection, that has been aimed at for the mutual benefit of Great Britain and themselves.

"'Although America may supply the mother country with many articles, few of them are yet supplied in quantities equal to her consumption; the quantity of iron transported is not great, of hemp very small, and there are many other commodities, not necessary to enumerate, which America has not yet been able to raise, notwithstanding the encouragement given her by bounties and premiums. The laying open new tracts of fertile territory in moderate climates might lessen her present produce; for it is the passion of every man to be a landholder, and the people have a natural disposition to rove in search of good lands, however distant. It may be a question likewise, whether colonization of the kind could be effected *without an Indian war and fighting for every inch of ground*. The Indians have long been jealous of our power, and have no patience in seeing us approach their towns, and settle upon their hunting grounds; atonements may be made for a fraud discovered

in a trader, and even the murder of some of their tribes, but *encroachments* upon their lands have often produced serious consequences. The springs of the last general war are to be discovered near the Allegany Mountains, and upon the banks of the Ohio.

"'It is so obvious, that settlers might raise provisions to feed the troops, cheaper than it can be transported from the country below, that it is not necessary to explain it; but I must own I know no other use in settlements, nor can give any other reason for supporting forts, than to protect the settlements, and keep the settlers in subjection to government.

"'I conceive, that to procure all the commerce it will afford, and at as little expence to ourselves as we can, is the only object we should have in view in the interior country for a century to come; and I imagine it might be effected, by proper management, without either forts or settlements. Our manufactures are as much desired by the Indians, as their peltry is sought for by us; what was originally deemed a superfluity, or a luxury, by the natives, is now become a necessary; they are disused to the bow, and can neither hunt nor make war without fire-arms, powder, and lead. The British provinces can only supply them with their necessaries, which they know, and for their own sakes would protect the trader, which they actually do at present. It would remain with us to prevent the traders being guilty of frauds and impositions, and to pursue the same methods to that end, as are taken in the southern district; and I must confess, though the plan pursued in that district might be improved by proper laws to support it, that I do not know a better or more economical plan for the management of trade; there are neither forts nor settlements in the southern department, and there are both in the northern department; and your Lordships will be the best judge, which of them has given you the least trouble; in which we have had the fewest quarrels with, or complaints from, the Indians.

"'I know of nothing so liable to bring on a serious quarrel with Indians, *as an invasion of their property*. Let the savages enjoy their desarts in quiet; little bickerings that may unavoidably sometimes happen, may soon be accommodated; and I am of opinion, independent of the motives of common justice and humanity, that the principles of interest and policy should induce us rather to protect than molest them. Were they driven from their forests, the peltry trade would decrease; and it is *not impossible* that worse savages would take refuge in them, for they might then become the asylum of fugitive negroes, and idle vagabonds escaped from justice, who in time might become formidable, and subsist by rapine, and plundering the lower countries.'

"VIII. The opinions delivered in the foregoing recitals are so accurate and precise, as to make it almost unnecessary to add any thing more: But we beg leave to lay before your Lordships the sentiments of his Majesty's Governor of Georgia, upon the subject of large grants in the interior parts of

America, whose knowledge and experience in the affairs of the colonies give great weight to his opinion.

"In a letter to us, on the subject of the mischiefs attending such grants, he expresses himself in the following manner, *viz.*

"'And now, my Lords, I beg your patience a moment, while I consider this matter in a more extensive point of view, and go a little further in declaring my sentiments and opinion, with respect to the granting of large bodies of land, in the back parts of the province of Georgia, or in any other of his Majesty's northern colonies, at a distance from the seacoast, or from such parts of any province as is already settled and inhabited.

"'And this matter, my Lords, appears to me in a very serious and alarming light, and I humbly conceive may be attended with the greatest and worst of consequences. For, my Lords, if a vast territory be granted to any set of gentlemen, who really mean to people it, and actually do so, it must draw and carry out a great number of people from Great Britain; and I apprehend they will soon become a kind of separate and independent people, and who will set up for themselves; that they will soon have manufactures of their own; that they will neither take supplies from the mother country, nor from the provinces, at the back of which they are settled; that, being at a distance from the seat of government, courts, magistrates, &c. &c., they will be out of the reach and control of law and government; that it will become a receptacle and kind of asylum for offenders, who will fly from justice to such new country or colony; and therefore crimes and offences will be committed, not only by the inhabitants of such new settlements, but elsewhere, and pass with impunity; and that, in process of time (and perhaps at no great distance), they will become formidable enough to oppose his Majesty's authority, disturb government, and even give law to the other or first settled part of the country, and throw every thing into confusion.

"'My Lords, I hope I shall not be thought impertinent, when I give my opinion freely, in a matter of so great consequence, as I conceive this to be; and, my Lords, I apprehend, that in all the American colonies, great care should be taken, that the lands on the seacoast should be thick settled with inhabitants, and well cultivated and improved; and that the settlements should be gradually extended back into the province, and as much connected as possible, to keep the people together in as narrow a compass, *as the nature of the lands and state of things will admit of*; and by which means there would probably become only one general view and interest amongst them, and the power of government and law would of course naturally and easily go with them, and matters thereby properly regulated and kept in due order and obedience; and they would have no idea of resisting or transgressing either, without being amenable to justice, and subject to punishment for offences they may commit.

"'But, my Lords, to suffer a kind of *province within a province*, and

one that may, indeed must in process of time become superior, and too big for the head, or original settlement or seat of government, to me conveys with it many ideas of consequences of such a nature, as I apprehend are extremely dangerous and improper, and it would be the policy of government to avoid and prevent, whilst in their power to do so.

"'My ideas, my Lords, are not chimerical; I know something of the situation and state of things in America; and from some little occurrences or instances that have already really happened, I can very easily figure to myself what may, and, in short, what will certainly happen, if not prevented in time.'

"IX. At the same time that we submit the foregoing reasoning against colonization in the interior country to your Lordships' consideration, it is proper we should take notice of one argument, which has been invariably held forth in support of every proposition of this nature, and upon which the present proponents appear to lay great stress. It is urged, that such is the state of the country now proposed to be granted, and erected into a separate government, that no endeavours on the part of the crown can avail, to prevent its being settled by those who, by the increase of population in the middle colonies, are continually emigrating to the westward, and forming themselves into colonies in that country, without the intervention or control of government, and who, if suffered to continue in that lawless state of anarchy and confusion, will commit such abuses as cannot fail of involving us in quarrel and dispute with the Indians, and thereby endangering the security of his Majesty's colonies.

"We admit, that this is an argument that deserves attention; and we rather take notice of it in this place, because some of the objections stated by Governor Wright *lose their force, upon the supposition that the grants against which he argues are to be erected into separate governments.* But we are clearly of opinion, that his arguments do, in the general view of them, as applied to the question of granting lands in the interior parts of America, stand unanswerable; and, *admitting* that the settlers in the country in question are *as numerous as report states them to be*, yet we submit to your Lordships, that this is a fact which does, in the nature of it, operate strongly in point of argument *against* what is proposed; for, if the foregoing reasoning has any weight, it certainly ought to induce your Lordships to advise his Majesty to take every method to *check* the progress of these settlements, and *not* to make such grants of the land as will have an immediate tendency to encourage them; a measure which we conceive is altogether as unnecessary as it is impolitic, as we see nothing to hinder the government of Virginia from extending the laws and constitution of that colony to such persons as may have already settled there under legal titles.

"X. And there is one objection suggested by Governor Wright to the extension of settlements in the interior country, which we submit, deserves

your Lordships' particular attention, viz. the encouragement that is thereby held out to the emigration of his Majesty's European subjects; an argument which, in the present peculiar situation of this kingdom, demands very serious consideration, and has for some time past had so great weight with this Board, that it has induced us to deny our concurrence to many proposals for grants of land, even in those parts of the continent of America where, in all other respects, we are of opinion, that it consists with the true policy of this kingdom to encourage settlements; and this consideration of the certain bad consequences which must result from a continuance of such emigrations as have lately taken place from various parts of his Majesty's European dominions, added to the constant drains to Africa, to the East Indies, and to the new-ceded islands, will, we trust, with what has been before stated, be a sufficient answer to every argument that can be urged in support of the present memorial, so far as regards the consideration of it in point of policy.

"XI. With regard to the propriety, in point of *justice*, of making the grant desired, we presume this consideration can have reference only to the case of such persons who have already possession of lands in that part of the country, under legal titles derived from grants made by the governor and Council of Virginia; upon which case we have only to observe, that it does appear to us, that there are *some* such possessions held by persons who are not parties to the present memorial; and therefore, if your Lordships shall be of opinion, that the making the grant desired would, notwithstanding the reservation proposed, in respect to such titles, have the effect to disturb those possessions, or to expose the proprietors to suit and litigation, we do conceive, that, in that case, the grant would be objectionable in point of justice.

"XII. Upon the whole, therefore, we cannot recommend to your Lordships to advise his Majesty to comply with the prayer of this memorial, either as to the erection of any parts of the lands into a separate government, or the making a grant of them to the memorialists; but, on the contrary, we are of opinion, that settlements in that distant part of the country should be as much discouraged as possible; and that, in order thereto, it will be expedient, not only that the orders which have been given to the governor of Virginia, not to make any further grants beyond the line prescribed by the proclamation of 1763, should be continued and enforced, but that another proclamation should be issued, declaratory of his Majesty's resolution not to allow, for the *present*, any new settlements beyond that line, and to forbid all persons from taking up or settling any lands in that part of the country.

"We are, my Lords,

"Your Lordships' most obedient and

"Most humble servants.

"*Whitehall, April* 15, 1772."

DR. FRANKLIN'S OBSERVATIONS ON AND ANSWERS TO THE FOREGOING REPORT

I. The first paragraph of the Report, we apprehend, was intended to establish two propositions as facts; *viz.*

First, That the tract of land, agreed for with the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, contains *part* of the dominion of Virginia.

Secondly, That it extends several degrees of longitude *westward* from the western ridge of the Allegany Mountains.

On the first proposition we shall only remark, that no part of the above tract is to the *eastward* of the Allegany Mountains, and that those mountains must be considered as the true western boundary of *Virginia;* for the King was *not* seised and possessed of a right *to the country westward* of the mountains, until his Majesty purchased it, in the year 1768, from the Six Nations; and, since that time, there has not been any annexation of such purchase, or of any part thereof, to the colony of Virginia.

On the second proposition we shall just observe that the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations appear to us to be as erroneous in this, as in the former proposition; for their Lordships say, that the tract of land under consideration *extends several degrees* of longitude *westward.* The truth is, that it is not more, on a medium, than one degree and a half of longitude from the western ridge of the Allegany Mountains to the River Ohio.

II. It appears, by the second paragraph, as if the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations apprehended,

that the lands southwesterly of the *boundary line*, marked on a map annexed to their Lordships' *Report*, were either claimed by the Cherokees, or were their hunting grounds, or were the hunting grounds of the Six Nations and their confederates.

As to any claim of the Cherokees to the above country, it is altogether new and indefensible, and never was heard of until the appointment of Mr. Stewart to the superintendency of the southern colonies, about the year 1764; and this, we flatter ourselves, will not only be obvious from the following state of facts, but that the right to *all the country* on the southerly side of the River Ohio, quite to the Cherokee River, is *now* undoubtedly vested in the King, by the grant which the Six Nations made to his Majesty at Fort Stanwix, in November, 1768. In short, the lands from the *Great Kenhawa* to the *Cherokee River* never were either the dwelling or hunting grounds of the *Cherokees;* but formerly belonged to, and were inhabited by, the *Shawanesse*, until such time as they were conquered by the Six Nations.

Mr. Colden, the present Lieutenant-Governor of New York, in his "History of the Five Nations," observes, that, about the year 1664, "the Five Nations, being amply supplied by the English with fire-arms and ammunition, gave a full swing to their warlike genius. They carried their arms *as far south as Carolina*, to the northward of New England, and *as far west as the River Mississippi*, over a vast country, which extended 1200 miles in length from north to south, and 600 miles in breadth, where they entirely destroyed whole nations, of whom there are no accounts remaining among the English."

In 1701, the Five Nations put all their hunting lands under the protection of the English, as appears by the records, and

by the recital and confirmation thereof, in their deed to the King of the 4th September, 1726; and Governor Pownal, who many years ago diligently searched into the rights of the natives, and in particular into those of the northern confederacy, says, in his book entitled the *Administration of the Colonies*, "The right of the Five-Nation confederacy to the hunting *lands of Ohio*, Ticûcksouchrondite and Scaniaderiada, by the conquest they made in subduing the *Shaôanoes*, Delawares (as we call them), Twictwees, and Oilinois, may be fairly proved, as they stood possessed thereof at the peace of Ryswick, 1697." And confirmatory hereof, Mr. Lewis Evans, a gentleman of great American knowledge, in his Map of the middle colonies, published in America in the year 1755, has laid down the country on the *southeasterly side* of the River Ohio, *as the hunting lands of the Six Nations;* and in his Analysis to this Map, he expressly says; "The *Shawanesse*, who were formerly one of the most considerable nations of those parts of America, whose seat extended from *Kentucke* southwestward to the Mississippi, have been subdued by the confederates (or Six Nations), *and the country since became their property.* No nation," Mr. Evans adds, "held out with greater resolution and bravery; and, although they have been scattered in all parts for a while, they are again collected on *Ohio*, under the dominion of the confederates."

At a Congress held in the year 1744, by the provinces of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, with the Six Nations, the commissioners of Virginia, in a speech to the sachems and warriors of that confederacy, say; "Tell us what nations of Indians you conquered any lands from in Virginia, how long it is since, and what possession you have had; and if it does appear, that there is any land on the *borders* of Virginia,

that the Six Nations have a right to, we are willing to make you satisfaction."

To this speech, the Six Nations gave the following animated and decisive answer. "All the world knows we conquered the several nations living on Sasquehanna, Cohongoranto [that is, Powtomac], *and on the back of the great mountains in Virginia;* the Conoy-uck-suck-roona, Cock-now-was-roonan, Tohoa-irough-roonan, and Connutskin-ough-roonaw *feel* the effects of our conquests, being now a part of our nations, and their lands at *our* disposal. We know very well, it hath often been said by the Virginians, that the King of England and the people of that colony conquered the people who live there; but it is not true. We will allow they conquered the Sachdagughronaw, and drove back the Tuskaroras [the first resided near the branches of James's River in Virginia, and the latter on these branches], and that they have, on that account, a right to some parts of Virginia; *but as to what lies beyond the mountains, we conquered the nations residing there, and that land,* if the Virginians ever get a *good right to it, it must be by us.*"

In the year 1750, the French seized four English traders, who were trading with the Six Nations, Shawanesse, and Delawares, on the waters of the Ohio, and sent them prisoners to Quebec, and from thence to France.

In 1754, the French took a formal possession of the River Ohio, and built forts at Venango, at the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela, and at the *mouth of the Cherokee River.*

In 1755, General Braddock was sent to America with an army to remove the French from their possessions *over* the Allegany Mountains and on the River Ohio; and on his

arrival at Alexandria, he held a council of war with the governors of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, and the Massachusetts Bay; and, as these gentlemen well knew, that the country claimed by the French, *over the Allegany Mountains, and southwesterly to the River Mississippi*, was the unquestionable property of the *Six Nations*, and *not* of the Cherokees, or any other tribe of Indians, the general gave instructions to Sir William Johnson to call together the Indians of the *Six Nations*, and lay before them their beforementioned grant to the King in 1726, wherein they had put all their hunting lands *under his Majesty's protection, to be guaranteed to them and to* their use. And as General Braddock's instructions are clearly declaratory of the right of the Six Nations to the lands under consideration, we shall here transcribe the conclusive words of them; "And it appearing that the French have, from time to time, by fraud and violence, built strong forts *within the limits of the said lands*, contrary to the covenant chain of the said deed and treaties, you are, in my name, to assure the said nations, that I am come by his Majesty's order to destroy all the said forts, and to build such others, *as shall protect and secure the said lands to them, their heirs and successors for ever*, according to the intent and spirit of the said treaty; and I do therefore call upon them to take up the hatchet *and come and take possession of their own lands.*"

That General Braddock and the American governors were not singular in their opinion, as to the right of the Six Nations to the land *over* the Allegany Mountains, and on both sides of the River Ohio, quite to the Mississippi, is evident from the memorials, which passed between the British and French courts in 1755.

In a memorial delivered by the King's ministers on the 7th June, 1755, to the Duc de Mirepoix, relative to the pretensions of France to the abovementioned lands, they very justly observed; "As to the exposition, which is made in the French memorial of the 15th article of the treaty of Utrecht, the court of Great Britain does not think it can have any foundation, either by the words or the intention of this treaty.

1st. "The court of Great Britain cannot allow of this article, relating only to the persons of the savages, and *not to their country:* The words of this treaty are clear and precise, that is to say, the *Five Nations*, or Cantons, are subject to the dominion of Great Britain, which, by the received exposition of all treaties, must relate to the *country*, as well as to the persons of the inhabitants; it is what France has acknowledged, in the most solemn manner; she had well weighed the importance of this acknowledgement, at the time of signing this treaty, and Great Britain can never give it up. The countries possessed by these Indians *are very well known, and are not at all so undetermined*, as it is pretended in the memorial; they *possess and make them over, as other proprietors do in all other places.*"

5th. "Whatever pretext might be alledged by France, in considering these countries as the appurtenances of Canada, *it is a certain truth, that they have belonged, and* (as they have not been given up *or made over* to the English) *belong still, to the same Indian nations;* which, by the 15th article of the treaty of Utrecht, France agreed not to molest, Nullo in posterum impedimento aut molestiâ afficiant."

"Notwithstanding all that has been advanced in this article, the court of Great Britain *cannot* agree to France having the least title to the River Ohio, and the *territory in question.*"

[N. B. This was *all* the country from the Allegany Mountains to the Ohio, and down the same and on both sides thereof to the River Mississippi.]

"Even that of possession is not, nor can it be alleged on this occasion; since France cannot pretend to have had any such before the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, nor since, unless it be that of certain *forts*, unjustly erected lately *on the lands, which evidently belong to the Five Nations*, or which these have made over to the crown of Great Britain or its subjects, as may be proved by treaties and acts of the greatest authority. *What* the court of Great Britain *maintained, and what it insists upon*, is, *that the Five Nations of the Iroquois, acknowledged* by France, *are*, by origin or *by right of conquest, the lawful proprietors of the River Ohio, and the territory in question.* And, as to the territory, which has been *yielded and made over by these people* to Great Britain (which cannot but be owned must be the most just and lawful manner of making an acquisition of this sort), she reclaims it, as belonging to her, having continued cultivating it for above 20 years past, and having made settlements in several parts of it, from the sources even of the Ohio to Pichawillanes, in the centre of the territory between the Ohio and the Wabache."

In 1755, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations were so solicitous to ascertain the territory of the Six Nations, that Dr. Mitchel, by their desire, published a large map of North America; and Mr. Pownal, the present Secretary of the Board of Trade, *then* certified, as appears on the map, That the Doctor was furnished with documents for the purpose from that Board. In this map, Dr. Mitchel observes, "that the Six Nations have extended their territories, ever since the year 1672, *when they subdued and were incorporated*

with the ancient Shawanesse, the native proprietors of these countries, and the River Ohio; besides which, they likewise claim a right of conquest over the Illinois, and all the Mississippi, as far as they extend. This," he adds, "is confirmed by their own claims and possessions in 1742, which include all the bounds here laid down, and none have ever thought fit to dispute them." And, in confirmation of this right of the Six Nations to the country on the Ohio, as mentioned by the King's ministers in their memorial to the Duke of Mirepoix, in 1755, we would just remark, that the Six Nations, Shawanesse, and Delawares were in the *actual occupation* of the lands *southward* of the Great Kenhawa, for some time after the French had encroached upon the River Ohio; and that, in the year 1752, these tribes had a large town on Kentucke River, 238 miles below the *Sioto;* that in the year 1754, they resided and hunted on the *southerly* side of the River Ohio, in the *Low Country*, at about 320 miles below the Great Kenhawa; and, in the year 1755, they had also a large town opposite to the mouth of *Sioto, at the very place* which is the *southern boundary* line of the tract of land applied for by Mr. Walpole and his associates. But it is a certain fact that the Cherokees *never* had any towns or settlements in the country, *southward* of the Great Kenhawa; that they do *not* hunt there, and that neither the Six Nations, Shawanesse, nor Delawares do *now* reside or hunt on the southerly side of the River Ohio, nor did not for several years *before* they sold the country to the King. These are facts, which can be easily and fully proved.

In October, 1768, at a Congress held with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, they observed to Sir William Johnson; "Now, brother, you, who know all our affairs, must be sen-

sible, that *our* rights go much farther to the *southward* than the *Kenhawa*, and that we have a very good and clear title as far *south* as the *Cherokee River*, which we cannot allow to be the right of any other Indians, without doing wrong to our posterity, and acting unworthy those warriors, who fought and conquered it; we therefore expect our right will be considered."

In November, 1768, the Six Nations sold to the King all the country on the southerly side of the River Ohio, as far as the Cherokee River; but, notwithstanding that sale, as soon as it was understood in Virginia, that government *favoured* the pretensions of the Cherokees, and that Dr. Walker and Colonel Lewis (the commissioners sent from that colony to the Congress at Fort Stanwix) had returned from thence, the late Lord Bottetourt sent these gentlemen to Charlestown, South Carolina, to endeavour to convince Mr. Stuart, the Southern Superintendent of Indian affairs, of the necessity of enlarging the boundary line which he had settled with the Cherokees; and to run it from the *Great Kenhawa* to Holston's River. These gentlemen were appointed commissioners by his Lordship, as they had been long conversant in Indian affairs, and were well acquainted with the actual extent of the Cherokee country. Whilst these commissioners were in South Carolina, they wrote a letter to Mr. Stuart, as he had been but a very few years in the Indian service, (and could not, from the nature of his former employment, be supposed to be properly informed about the Cherokee territory,) respecting the claims of the Cherokees to the lands *southward* of the Great Kenhawa, and therein they expressed themselves as follows.

"*Charlestown, South Carolina, Feb.* 2, 1769. — The coun

try *southward* of the *Big Kenhawa was never claimed by the Cherokees*, and now is the property of the crown, as Sir William Johnson purchased it of the Six Nations at a very considerable expence, and took a deed of cession from them at Fort Stanwix."

In 1769, the House of Burgesses of the colony of Virginia represented to Lord Bottetourt, "That they have the greatest reason to fear the said line" (meaning the boundary line, which the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations have referred to in the map annexed to their Lordships' Report), "if confirmed, would constantly open to the Indians, and other *enemies* to his Majesty, a free and easy ingress to the heart of the country on the Ohio, Holston's River, and the Great Kenhawa; whereby the settlements which may be attempted in those quarters will, in all probability, be utterly destroyed, and *that great extent of country* [at least 800 miles in length] *from the mouth of the Kenhawa* to the *mouth of the Cherokee River*, extending eastward as far as the Laurell Hill, *so lately ceded to his Majesty, to which no tribe of Indians at present set up any pretensions, will be entirely abandoned to the Cherokees;* in consequence of which, claims *totally destructive* of the true interest of his Majesty may at some future time arise, *and acquisitions justly ranked among the most valuable of the late war be altogether lost.*"

From the foregoing detail of facts, it is obvious,

1st. That the country *southward* of the Great Kenhawa, at least as far as the Cherokee River, originally belonged to the Shawanesse.

2d. That the Six Nations, in virtue of their conquest of the Shawanesse, became the lawful proprietors of that country.

3d. That the King, in consequence of the grant from the

Six Nations, made to his Majesty at Fort Stanwix in 1768, is now vested with the undoubted right and property thereof.

4th. That the Cherokees *never* resided, nor hunted, in that country, and have *not* any kind of right to it.

5th. That the House of Burgesses of the colony of Virginia have, upon good grounds, asserted, (such as properly arise from the nature of their stations and proximity to the Cherokee country,) that the Cherokees had not any just pretensions to the territory *southward* of the Great Kenhawa.

And lastly, That neither the Six Nations, the Shawanesse, nor Delawares do *now* reside or hunt in that country.

From these considerations, it is evident no possible injury can arise to his Majesty's service, to the Six Nations and their confederacy, or to the Cherokees, by permitting us to settle the *whole* of the lands comprehended within our contract with the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. If, however, there has been any treaty held with the Six Nations, *since* the cession made to his Majesty at Fort Stanwix, whereby the faith of the crown is pledged, both to the Six Nations and the Cherokees, that no settlement should be made beyond the line, marked on their Lordships' Report; we say, if such agreement has been made by the orders of government with these tribes, (notwithstanding, as the Lords Commissioners have acknowledged, "*the Six Nations had ceded the property in the lands to his Majesty,*") we flatter ourselves, that the objection of their Lordships in the second paragraph of their Report will be entirely obviated, by a specific clause being inserted in the King's grant to us, *expressly prohibiting us from settling any part of the same,* until such time as we shall have *first* obtained his Majesty's allow-

ance, and the full consent of the Cherokees, and the Six Nations and their confederates, for that purpose.

III. In regard to the third paragraph of their Lordships' Report, That it was the *principle* of the Board of Trade, *after* the treaty of Paris, "to *confine* the western extent of settlements to such a distance from the seacoast, as that these settlements should lie within the *reach* of the trade and commerce of this kingdom," &c., we shall not presume to controvert it; but it may be observed, that the settlement of the country *over* the Allegany Mountains, and on the Ohio, was *not* understood, either *before* the treaty of Paris, nor intended to be so considered by his Majesty's proclamation of October, 1763, "as *without the reach of the trade and commerce of this kingdom*," &c.; for, in the year 1748, Mr. John Hanbury, and a number of other gentlemen, petitioned the King for a grant of 500,000 acres of land *over* the Allegany Mountains, and on the River Ohio and its branches; and the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations were then pleased to *report* to the Lords committee of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, "*That the settlement of the country lying to the westward* of the *great mountains*, as it was the centre of the British dominions, *would be for his Majesty's interest, and the advantage and security of Virginia and the neighbouring colonies.*"

And on the 23d of February, 1748–9, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations *again reported* to the Lords of the committee of the Privy Council, that they had "fully *set forth the great utility and advantage of extending our settlements beyond the great mountains*, ('which report *has been approved of by your Lordships;*') and as, by these *new* proposals, there is *a great probability of having a much larger*

tract of the said country settled than under the former, we are of opinion, that it will be greatly for his Majesty's service, and the *welfare and security of Virginia, to comply with the prayer of the petition.*"

And on the 16th of March, 1748–9, an *instruction* was sent to the governor of Virginia to grant 500,000 acres of land *over the Allegany Mountains* to the aforesaid Mr. Hanbury and his partners (who are now *part* of the company of Mr. Walpole and his associates); and that instruction sets forth, that "*such settlements will be for our interest, and the advantage and security of our said colony, as well as the advantage of the neighbouring ones;* inasmuch as our loving subjects *will be thereby enabled to cultivate a friendship, and carry on a more extensive commerce,* with the nations of Indians inhabiting those parts; *and such examples may likewise induce the neighbouring colonies to turn their thoughts towards designs of the same nature.*" Hence, we apprehend, it is evident, that a former Board of Trade, at which the late Lord Halifax presided, was of opinion, that settlements *over* the Allegany Mountains were not against the King's interest, *nor* at such a distance from the seacoast, as to *be without* "the *reach* of the trade and commerce of this kingdom," nor *where* its authority or jurisdiction could not be exercised. But the *Report* under consideration suggests, that two capital objects of the proclamation of 1763 were, *to confine* future settlements to the "sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and northwest," (or, in other words, to *the eastern side of the Allegany Mountains,*) and to the three new governments of Canada, East Florida, and West Florida; and to establish this fact, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations recite a part of that proclamation.

But if the *whole* of this proclamation is considered, it will be found to contain the nine following heads; *viz.*

1st. To declare to his Majesty's subjects, that he had erected four distinct and separate governments in America; *viz.* Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada.

2d. To ascertain the respective boundaries of these four new governments.

3d. To testify the royal sense and approbation of the conduct and bravery, both of the officers and soldiers of the King's army, and of the reduced officers of the navy, who had served in North America, and to reward them by grants of lands in Quebec, and in East and West Florida, without fee or reward.

4th. To hinder the governors of Quebec, East Florida, and West Florida from granting warrants of survey, or passing patents for lands *beyond* the bounds of their respective governments.

5th. To forbid the governors of any other colonies or plantations in America from granting warrants or passing patents for lands *beyond* the heads or sources of any of the rivers, which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or northwest, or upon any lands whatever, "*which, not having been ceded to or purchased by the King,* are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them."

6th. To reserve, "*for the present,*" under the King's sovereignty, protection, and dominion, "*for the use of the said Indians,*" all the lands *not* included within the limits of the said three new governments, or within the limits of the Hudson's Bay Company; as also, all the lands lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers, which fall into the sea from the west and northwest, and forbidding the King's subjects

from making any purchases or settlements whatever, or taking possession of the lands *so reserved*, without his Majesty's leave and license first obtained.

7th. To require all persons, who had made settlements on lands *not* purchased by the King from the Indians, to remove from such settlements.

8th. To regulate the future purchases of lands from the Indians, within such parts as his Majesty, by that proclamation, permitted settlements to be made upon.

9th. To declare, that the trade with the Indians should be free and open to all his Majesty's subjects, and to prescribe the manner how it shall be carried on.

And, lastly, To require all military officers, and the superintendents of Indian affairs, to seize and apprehend all persons who stood charged with treasons, murders, &c., and who had fled from justice and taken refuge in the reserved lands of the Indians, to send such persons to the colony *where* they stood accused.

From this proclamation, therefore, it is obvious, that the sole design of it, independent of the establishment of the three new governments, ascertaining their respective boundaries, rewarding the officers and soldiers, regulating the Indian trade, and apprehending felons, was to *convince* the Indians "of his Majesty's justice and determined resolution to remove all reasonable cause of discontent," by interdicting all settlements on land not *ceded to, or purchased by, his Majesty;* and declaring it to be, as we have already mentioned, his royal will and pleasure, "for *the present, to reserve*, under his sovereignty, protection, and dominion, *for the use of the Indians*, all the land and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers, which fall into the sea from the west

and northwest." Can any words express more decisively the royal intention? Do they not explicitly mention, that the territory is, *at present*, reserved, under his Majesty's protection, *for the use of the Indians?* And, as the Indians had *no use* for those lands, which are bounded *westerly* by the *southeast side* of the river Ohio, either for residence or hunting, they were willing to sell them; and accordingly did sell them to the King in November, 1768, the occasion of which sale will be fully explained in our observations on the succeeding paragraphs of the *Report*. Of course, the proclamation, so far as it regarded the settlement of the lands included within that purchase, has absolutely and undoubtedly ceased. The late Mr. Grenville, who was, at the time of issuing this proclamation, the minister of this kingdom, always admitted, that the design of it was totally accomplished, *so soon as the country was purchased of the natives.*

IV. In this paragraph, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations mention two reasons for his Majesty's entering into engagements with the Indians, for fixing a *more precise and determinate boundary* line than was settled by the proclamation of October, 1763, *viz.*

1st, Partly for want of *precision* in the one intended to be marked by the proclamation of 1763.

2d, And partly from a consideration of justice in regard to *legal titles to lands.*

We have, we presume, fully proved, in our observations on the third paragraph, that the design of the proclamation, so far as related to lands *westward* of the Allegany Mountains, was for no other purpose than to *reserve* them, under his Majesty's protection, for *the present, for the use of the Indians;* to which we shall only add, That the line established by the

proclamation, so far as it concerned the lands in question, could *not* possibly be fixed and described with more *precision*, than the proclamation itself describes it; for it declares, That 'all the lands and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers, *which fall into the sea from the west and northwest*,' should be reserved under his Majesty's protection.

Neither, in our opinion, was his Majesty induced to enter into engagements with the Indians, for fixing a more *precise* and determinate boundary, "*partly from a consideration of justice, in regard to legal titles to lands*," for there were *none* such (as we shall prove) comprehended within the tract *now* under consideration.

But for a full comprehension of ALL the reasons for his Majesty's "entering into engagements with the Indians, for fixing a more precise and determinate boundary line," than was settled by the royal proclamation of October, 1763, we shall take the liberty of stating the following facts. In the year 1764, the King's ministers had it then in contemplation to obtain an act of Parliament for the proper regulation of the Indian commerce, and providing a fund, (by laying a duty on the trade,) for the support of superintendents, commissaries, interpreters, &c., at particular forts in the Indian country, *where* the trade was to be carried on; and, as a part of this system it was thought proper, in order to avoid future complaints from the Indians, on account of encroachments on their hunting grounds, to purchase a large tract of territory from them, and establish, with their consent, a respectable *boundary line*, beyond which his Majesty's subjects should *not* be permitted to settle.

In consequence of this system, orders were transmitted to Sir William Johnson, in the year 1764, to call together the Six

Nations, lay this proposition of the *boundary* before them, and take their opinion upon it. This, we apprehend, will appear evident from the following speech, made by Sir William to the Six Nations, at a conference which he held with them at Johnson Hall, May the 2d, 1765.

"Brethren,

"The last, but the most important affair I have at this time to mention is, with regard to the *settling a boundary between you and the English.* I sent a message to some of your nations some time ago, to acquaint you, that I should confer with you at this meeting upon it. The King, whose generosity and forgiveness you have already experienced, *being very desirous to put a final end to disputes between his* people and YOU CONCERNING LANDS, and to do you strict justice, has fallen upon the plan of a boundary between our provinces and the Indians, (which no white man shall dare to invade,) as the best and surest method of ending such like disputes, and *securing your property* to you beyond a possibility of disturbance. This will, I hope, appear to you so reasonable, so just on the part of the King, and so advantageous to you and your posterity, that I can have no doubt of your chearfully joining with me in settling such a division line, as will be best for the advantage of both white men and Indians, *and as shall best agree with the extent and increase of each province*, and the governors, whom I shall consult upon that occasion, so soon as I am fully empowered; but in the mean time I am desirous to know in what manner you would choose to extend it, and what you will agree heartily to, and abide by, in general terms. At the same time, I am to acquaint you, that whenever the whole is settled, and that it shall appear you have *so far consulted the increasing state of our people, as to*

make any convenient cessions of ground where it is most wanted, that *then* you will receive a considerable present in return for your friendship."

To this speech the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations, after conferring some time among themselves, gave an answer to Sir William Johnson, and agreed to the proposition of the boundary line; which answer, and the other transactions of this conference, Sir William transmitted to the office of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

From a change of the administration, which formed the above system of obtaining an act of Parliament for regulating the Indian trade and establishing the *boundary line*, or from some other public cause, unknown to us, no measures were adopted, until the latter end of the year 1767, for *completing* the negotiation about this boundary line. But in the mean time, *viz.* between the years 1765 and 1768, the King's subjects removed in great numbers from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, and settled *over* the mountains; upon which account the Six Nations became so irritated, that in the year 1766 they killed several persons, and denounced a general war against the middle colonies; and to appease them, and to avoid such a public calamity, a detachment of the 42d regiment of foot was *that year* sent from the garrison of Fort Pitt, to remove such settlers as were seated at *Red-Stone Creek*, &c.; but the endeavours and threats of this detachment proved ineffectual, and they returned to the garrison without being able to execute their orders. The complaints of the Six Nations, however, continuing and *increasing*, on account of the settling of their lands *over* the mountains, General Gage wrote to the governor of Pennsylvania on the 7th of December, 1767, and after mentioning

these complaints, he observed; "*You are a witness how little attention has been paid to the several proclamations that have been published, and that even the removing those people from the lands in question, which was attempted this summer by the garrison at Fort Pitt, has been only a temporary expedient.* We learn they are *returned again* to the same *encroachments* on Red-Stone Creek and Cheat River, in *greater numbers than ever.*"

On the 5th of January, 1768, the governor of Pennsylvania sent a message to the General Assembly of the province, with the foregoing letter from General Gage; and on the 13th the Assembly, in the conclusion of a message to the Governor on the subject of Indian complaints, observed; "To obviate which cause of their discontent, and effectually to establish between them and his Majesty's subjects a durable peace, we are of opinion, that a speedy *confirmation* of the *boundary*, and a just satisfaction made to them for their lands on this side of it, are absolutely necessary. By this means all their present complaints of encroachments will be removed, and the people on our frontiers will have a sufficient country *to settle or hunt in, without interfering with them.*"

On the 19th of January, 1768, Mr. Galloway, the Speaker of the Assembly in Pennsylvania, and the Committee of Correspondence, wrote on the subject of the Indians' disquietude, by order of the House, to their agents, Richard Jackson and Benjamin Franklin, Esquires, in London, and therein they said, "That the delay of the confirmation of the *boundary* the natives have warmly complained of, *and that, although they have received no consideration for the lands agreed to be ceded to the crown on our* side of the boundary, *yet that its subjects are daily settling and occupying those very lands.*"

In April, 1768, the legislature of Pennsylvania finding that the expectations of an Indian war were hourly increasing, *occasioned by the settlement of the lands over the mountains* not sold by the natives, and flattering themselves that orders would soon arrive from England for the perfection of the boundary line; they voted the sum of one thousand pounds, to be given as a present, in blankets, strouds, &c., to the Indians upon the Ohio, with a view of moderating their resentment, until these orders should arrive. And, the Governor of Pennsylvania being informed that a treaty was soon to be held at Fort Pitt by George Croghan, Esq. deputy agent of Indian affairs, by order of General Gage and Sir William Johnson, he sent his secretary and another gentleman, as commissioners from the province, to deliver the above present to the Indians at Fort Pitt.

On the 2d of May, 1768, the Six Nations made the following speech at that conference.

"Brother,

"It is not without grief, that we see our country *settled by you*, without our knowledge or consent; and it is a long time since we complained to you of this grievance, which we find has not as yet been redressed; but *settlements* are still *extending further into our country;* some of them are made directly on our war-path, leading into our enemies' country, and we do not like it. Brother, you have *laws among you* to govern your people by; and it will be the strongest proof of the sincerity of your friendship, to let us see that you remove the people from our lands; as we look upon it, *they will have time enough to settle them, when you have purchased them, and the country becomes yours.*"

The Pennsylvania commissioners, in answer to this speech,

informed the Six Nations, that the Governor of that province had sent four gentlemen with his proclamation and the act of assembly (making it *felony of death* without benefit of clergy, to continue on Indian lands) to such settlers *over* the mountains, as were seated within the limits of Pennsylvania, requiring them to vacate their settlements, but all to no avail; that the governor of Virginia had likewise, to as little purpose, issued his proclamations and orders; and that General Gage had twice *ineffectually* sent parties of soldiers to remove the settlers from Red-Stone Creek and Monongahela.

As soon as Mr. Jackson and Dr. Franklin received the foregoing instructions from the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, they waited upon the American minister, and urged the expediency and necessity of the boundary line being speedily concluded; and, in consequence thereof, additional orders were immediately transmitted to Sir William Johnson for that purpose.

It is plain, therefore, that the proclamation of October, 1763, was *not* designed, as the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations have suggested, to signify the policy of this kingdom *against* settlements *over* the Allegany Mountains, *after* the King had actually purchased the territory; and that the *true* reasons for purchasing the lands comprised within that boundary were to avoid an Indian rupture, and give an opportunity to the King's subjects quietly and lawfully to settle thereon.

V. Whether the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations are well founded in their declarations, that the lands under consideration "*are out of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom*," shall be fully considered in our observations on the sixth paragraph; and, as to "the various

propositions for erecting new colonies in the *interior parts*, which, their Lordships say, have been, in consequence of the extension of the boundary line, submitted to the consideration of government, particularly in *that part of the country*, wherein are situated the lands now prayed for, and the danger of complying with such proposals have been so obvious as to *defeat* every attempt for carrying them into execution," we shall only observe on this paragraph, that as we do not know what these propositions were, or upon what principle the proposers have been *defeated*, it is impossible for us to judge, whether they are any ways applicable to our case. Consistent however with our knowledge, no more than one proposition for the settlement of a *part* of the lands in question, has been presented to government, and that was from Dr. Lee, 32 other Americans, and two Londoners, in the year 1768, praying that his Majesty would *grant* to them, without *any purchase money*, 2,500,000 of land, in *one or more surveys*, to be located between the 38th and 42d degrees of latitude, *over the Allegany Mountains*, and on condition of their possessing these lands 12 years WITHOUT *the payment of any quit-rent*, (the same not to begin until the whole 2,500,000 acres were surveyed,) and that they should be obliged to settle 200 *families in* 12 *years*. Surely, the Lords Commissioners did not mean this proposition, as one that was similar, and would *apply* to the case now *reported* upon; and especially as Dr. Lee and his associates did not propose, as we do, either to purchase the lands, or pay the quit-rents to his Majesty, *neat and clear of all deductions*, or be at the *whole* expence of establishing and maintaining the civil government of the country.

VI. In the sixth paragraph the Lords Commissioners

observe, that "*every argument on the subject*, respecting the settlement of the lands in that part of the country now prayed for, *is collected together with great force and precision in a representation made to his Majesty* by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, in March, 1768."

That it may be clearly understood, what was the occasion of this *Representation*, we shall take the liberty of mentioning, that, on the 1st of October, 1767, and during the time that the Earl of Shelburne was Secretary of State for the southern department, an idea was entertained of forming, "*at the expence* of *the crown*," three *new governments* in North America, *viz.* one at *Detroit*, (on the waters between Lake Huron and Lake Erie); one in the *Illinois country*, and one on the *lower* part of the river Ohio; and, in consequence of such idea, a *reference* was made by his Lordship to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, for their opinion upon these proposed *new* governments.

Having explained the cause of the *Representation*, which is so very strongly and earnestly insisted upon by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, as containing "*every argument on the subject* of the lands which is at present before your Lordships"; we shall now give our reasons for apprehending, *that it is* so far from applying against our case, that it actually declares a permission would be given to settle the very lands in question.

Three principal reasons are assigned in the *Representation*, "as conducive to the great object of colonizing upon the continent of North America, *viz.*

"1st, Promoting the advantageous fishery carried on upon the *northern coast.*

"2dly, Encouraging the growth and culture of naval

stores, and of *raw materials*, to be transported hither, in exchange for perfect manufactures and other merchandise.

"3dly, Securing a supply of lumber, provisions, and other necessaries, for the support of our establishments in the American islands."

On the first of these reasons, we apprehend, it is not necessary for us to make many observations; as the provinces of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and the colonies *southward* of them, have *not*, and from the nature of their situation and commerce will *not*, promote the *fishery*, more, it is conceived, than the proposed Ohio colony. These provinces are, however, beneficial to this kingdom in culture and exportation of different articles; as it is humbly presumed the Ohio colony *will* likewise be, if the production *of staple commodities* is allowed to be within that description.

On the 2d and 3d general reasons of the *Representation* we shall observe, that no part of his Majesty's dominions in North America will require less *encouragement* "for the growth and culture of naval stores and raw materials, and for the supplying the islands with lumber, provisions," &c., than the solicited colony on the Ohio; and for the following reasons.

First, The lands in question are excellent, the climate temperate; the native grapes, silk-worms, and mulberry trees are everywhere; hemp grows spontaneously in the valleys and low lands; iron ore is plenty in the hills; and no soil is better adapted for the culture of tobacco, flax, and cotton, than that of the Ohio.

Second, The country is well watered by several navigable rivers, communicating with each other; and by which, and a short land carriage of *only* 40 *miles*, the produce of the lands

of the Ohio can, even *now*, be sent *cheaper* to the seaport town of Alexandria, on the river Potomack (where General Braddock's transports landed his troops), than any kind of merchandize is at this time sent *from Northampton to London*.

Third, The river Ohio is, at *all* seasons of the year, navigable for large boats, like the West Country barges, rowed only by four or five men; and, from January to the month of April, large ships may be built on the Ohio, and sent laden with *hemp*, *iron*, *flax*, *silk*, &c., to this kingdom.

Fourth, Flour, corn, beef, ship-plank, and other necessaries can be sent down the stream of Ohio to West Florida, and from thence to the islands, much cheaper and in better order, than from New York or Philadelphia.

Fifth, Hemp, tobacco, iron, and such bulky articles can also be sent *down* the *stream* of the Ohio to the *sea*, at least 50 *per centum* cheaper than these articles were ever carried by a land carriage, of only 60 miles, in Pennsylvania; where *waggonage* is cheaper than in any other part of North America.

Sixth, The expence of transporting British manufactures from the sea to the Ohio colony will *not* be so much, as is now paid, and must ever be paid, to a great part of the counties of *Pennsylvania*, *Virginia*, and *Maryland*.

From this state of facts, we apprehend, it is clear, that the lands in question are altogether capable, and will advantageously admit, from their fertility, situation, and the small expence attending the exporting the produce of them to this kingdom, "of *conducing* to the great object of colonizing upon the continent of North America;" but, that we may more particularly elucidate this important point, we shall take the freedom of observing, that it is *not* disputed, but even acknowledged, by the very *Report* now under consideration,

that the climate and soil of the Ohio are as favourable as we have described them; and, as to the native silk-worms, it is a truth, that *above* 10,000 weight of cocoons was, in August, 1771, sold at the public filature in Philadelphia; and that the silk produced from the *native* worm is of a good quality, and has been much approved of in this city.

As to *hemp*, we are ready to make it appear, that it grows, as we have represented, spontaneously, and of a good texture, on the Ohio. When, therefore, the *increasing* dependence of this kingdom upon Russia for this very article is considered, and that none has been exported from the *sea-coast American colonies*, as their soil will not easily produce it, this dependence must surely be admitted as a subject of great national consequence, and worthy of the serious attention of government. Nature has pointed out to us, *where* any quantity of hemp can be soon and easily raised; and by that means, not only a large amount of specie may be retained *yearly* in this kingdom, but our own subjects can be employed most advantageously, and paid in the *manufactures* of this kingdom. The state of the Russian trade is briefly thus;

From the year 1722 to 1731, 250 ships were, on a medium, sent each year to St. Petersburgh, Narva, Riga, and Archangel, for *hemp* . . .	250 ships.
And from the year 1762 to 1771, 500 were also sent for that purpose	500
Increase in ten years	250 ships.

Here then, it is obvious, that in the last *ten* years there was on a medium, an increase of 250 ships in the Russian trade. Can it be consistent with the wisdom and policy of the greatest naval and commercial nation in the world, to depend

wholly on *foreigners* for the supply of an article, in which is included the very existence of her navy and commerce? Surely not; and especially when God has blessed us with a country yielding *naturally* the very commodity, which draws our money from us, and renders us *dependent* on Russia for it.

As we have only hitherto *generally* stated the *small* expence of carriage between the waters of Potomack and those of the Ohio, we shall now endeavour to shew how very ill founded the Lords of Trade and Plantations are, in the fifth paragraph of their *Report, viz.* that the lands in question "*are out of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom.*" In order, however, that a proper opinion may be formed on this important article, we shall take the liberty of stating the particular expence of carriage, *even during* the last *French war*, when there was no *back* carriage from Ohio to Alexandria; as it will be found, it was even then only about a *halfpenny* per *pound*, as will appear from the following account, the truth of which we shall fully ascertain, *viz.*

From Alexandria to Fort Cumberland, by water, *per cwt.*	1*s.* 7*d.*
From Fort Cumberland to Red-Stone Creek, at 14 dollars *per* waggon-load, each waggon carrying 15 *cwt.*	4 2
	5 9

Note. The distance was *then* 70 miles; but, by a *new* waggon road, *lately* made, it is *now* but forty miles; a saving of course of above one half the 5*s.* 9*d.* is *at present* experienced.

If it is considered, that this rate of carriage was *in time of*

war, and *when* there were no inhabitants on the Ohio, we cannot doubt but every intelligent mind will be satisfied, that it is now much *less* than is daily paid in London for the carriage of *coarse woollens*, *cutlery*, *iron ware*, &c., from several counties in England.

The following is the cost of carriage from Birmingham, &c., viz.

From Birmingham to London, is . . .	4*s. per cwt.*
From Walfall in Staffordshire, ...	5
From Sheffield, ...	8
From Warrington, ...	7

If the lands which are at present under consideration are, as the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations say, "*out of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom*," we are at a loss to conceive by what standard that Board calculates the rate of "advantageous intercourse." If the King's subjects, settled *over* the Allegany Mountains, and on the Ohio, within the *new* erected county of Bedford, in the province of Pennsylvania, are altogether cloathed with British manufactures, as is the case, is that country "out of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom"? If merchants in London are *now* actually shipping British manufactures for the use *of the very settlers* on the lands in question, does that exportation come within the Lords Commissioners' description of what is "out of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom"? In short, the Lords Commissioners admit, upon their own principles, that it is a political and advantageous intercourse with this kingdom, *when* the settlements and settlers are confined to the *eastern* side of the Allegany Mountains. Shall, then, the expence of

carriage, even of the very coarsest and heaviest cloths, or other articles, from the *mountains* to the Ohio, only about 70 miles, and which will not at most *increase* the price of carriage *above a halfpenny a yard*, convert the trade and connexion with the settlers on the Ohio into a predicament "that shall be," as the Lords Commissioners have said, "*out* of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom"?

On the whole, "if the poor Indians in the remote parts of North America, are *now* able to pay for the linens, woollens, and iron ware they are furnished with by English traders, though Indians have nothing but what they get by hunting, and the goods are loaded with all the impositions fraud and knavery can contrive, to *inhance* their value; will not industrious English farmers," employed in the culture of hemp, flax, silk, &c., "be able to pay for what shall be brought to them in the fair way of commerce;" and especially when it is remembered, that there is *no* other *allowable* market for the sale of these articles, than in this kingdom? And if "the growths of *the* country find their way out of it, will not the manufactures of this kingdom, *where* the hemp, &c. must be sent to, find their way into it?"

Whether Nova Scotia, and East and West Florida have yielded advantages and returns equal to the enormous sums expended in founding and supporting them, or even advantages, such as the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, in their *representation* of 1768, seemed to expect, it is not our business to investigate; it is, we presume, sufficient for us to mention, that those "many principal persons in Pennsylvania," as is observed in the representation, "whose names and association lie before your Majesty in Council, for the purpose of making settlements in Nova Scotia," have,

several years since, been convinced of the impracticability of exciting settlers to move from the *middle colonies* and settle in that province; and even of those who were prevailed on to go to Nova Scotia, the greater part of them returned with great complaints against the severity and length of the winters.

As to East and West Florida, it is, we are persuaded, morally impossible to *force* the people of the *middle* provinces, between 37 and 40 degrees north latitude (where there is plenty of vacant land in their own temperate climate) to remove to the scorching, unwholesome heats of those provinces. The inhabitants of Montpelier might as soon and easily be persuaded to remove to the northern parts of Russia, or to Senegal.

In short, it is contending with nature, and the experience of all ages, to attempt to compel a people, *born* and *living in a temperate climate*, and in the neighbourhood of a rich, healthful, and uncultivated country, to travel several hundred miles to a *seaport* in order to make *a voyage to sea*, and settle either in extreme hot or cold latitudes. If the county of York was vacant and uncultivated, and the more *southern* inhabitants of this island were in want of land, would they suffer themselves to be driven to the *north of Scotland?* Would they not, in spite of all opposition, *first* possess themselves of that fertile county? Thus much we have thought necessary to remark, in respect to the general principles laid down in the *Representation* of 1768; and we hope we have shewn, that the arguments *therein* made use of, do *not* in any degree militate against the subject in question; but that they were intended and do solely apply to "new colonies proposed to be established," as the *Representation* says, "*at an expence to*

this kingdom, at the distance of above 1500 miles from the sea, which, from their inability to find returns, *wherewith* to pay for the manufactures of Great Britain, will be probably led to manufacture for themselves, *as they would*," continues the *Representation*, "be separated from the *old* colonies by immense tracts of unpeopled desart."

It now only remains for us to inquire, whether it was the intention of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations in 1768, that the territory, which would be included within the *boundary line*, then negotiating with the Indians (and which was the *one*, that was *that year* perfected) should continue a useless wilderness, or be settled and occupied by his Majesty's subjects.

The very *Representation* itself, which, the present Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations say, contains "*every argument on the subject*," furnishes us an ample and satisfactory solution to this important question. The Lords Commissioners in 1768, after pronouncing their opinion *against* the *proposed three new governments*, as above stated, declare, "They ought to be carefully guarded against, by encouraging the settlement of that extensive tract of seacoast hitherto unoccupied; which," say their Lordships, "*together with the liberty the inhabitants of the middle colonies* WILL HAVE (in consequence of the proposed *boundary line* with the Indians) *of gradually extending themselves backwards*, will *more effectually and beneficially answer* the object of *encouraging population* and *consumption*, than the erection of new governments; such gradual extension might, through the medium of a continual population, upon even the same extent of territory, *preserve* a communication of mutual commercial benefits between its extremest parts and Great

Britain, *impossible to exist in colonies separated* by *immense tracts of unpeopled desart.*"

Can any opinion be more clear and conclusive, in *favour* of the proposition, which we have humbly submitted to his Majesty? For their Lordships positively say, that the inhabitants of the middle colonies *will have liberty of gradually extending themselves backwards.* But is it not very extraordinary, that, after near *two years*' deliberation, the present Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations should make a *Report* to the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council, and therein expressly refer to that opinion of 1768, in which they say, "*every argument on the subject is collected together with great force and precision,*" and yet that, almost in the same breath, their Lordships should contravene that very opinion, and advise his Majesty "*to check the progress of these settlements*"? and that "settlements in *that distant part* of the country ought to be *discouraged* as much as possible, and another proclamation should be issued declaratory of his Majesty's resolution, *not* to allow, *for the present*, any new settlement beyond the line;" to wit, beyond the Allegany Mountains? How strange and contradictory is this conduct? But we forbear any strictures upon it; and shall conclude our remarks on this head, by stating the opinion, at different times, of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, on this subject.

In 1748, their Lordships expressed the strongest desire to promote settlements over the mountains and on the Ohio.

In 1768, the then Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations declared, (in consequence of the boundary line at that time negotiating,) that the inhabitants of the *middle*

colonies would *have liberty of gradually extending themselves backwards.*

In 1770, the Earl of Hillsborough actually *recommended* the purchase of a tract of land *over* the mountains, sufficient for a new colony, and then went down to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to know, whether their Lordships would treat with Mr. Walpole and his associates for such purchase.

In 1772, the Earl of Hillsborough, and the other Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, made a *report* on the petition of Mr. Walpole and his associates, and referred to the *Representation* of the Board of Trade in 1768, "as containing *every argument* on the *subject, collected together with force and precision;*" which *Representation* declared, as we have shown, "*That the inhabitants of the middle colonies* WILL *have liberty to extend backwards*" on the identical lands in question; and yet, notwithstanding such *reference*, so strongly made from the present Board of Trade to the opinion of that Board, the Earl of Hillsborough and the other Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations have now, in direct terms, *reported against* the absolute engagement and opinion of the Board in 1768.

It may be asked, what was intended by the expressions in the *Representation* of 1768, "of *gradually extending themselves backwards*"? It is answered, they were only in contradistinction to the proposal of erecting at that time *three new governments at Detroit*, &c.; and "thereby exciting," as the *Representation* says, "the stream of population to *various* distant places." In short, it was, we think, beyond all doubt, the "*precise*" opinion of the Lords Commissioners in 1768, that the territory, within the boundary line then

negotiating and since completed, would be sufficient at that time to answer the object of population and consumption; and that, until that territory was fully occupied, it was not necessary to erect the proposed *three new governments* "*at an expence to this kingdom*," in places, as their Lordships observed, "separated by immense tracts of unpeopled desart."

To conclude our observations on the sixth paragraph, we would just remark, that we presume we have demonstrated, that the inhabitants of the middle colonies *cannot* be compelled to exchange the soil and climate of these colonies, either for the severe colds of Nova Scotia and Canada, or the unwholesome heats of East and West Florida. Let us next inquire, what would be the effect of *confining* these inhabitants, if it was practicable, within narrow bounds, and thereby preventing them from exercising their natural inclination of cultivating lands; and whether such restriction would not force them into *manufactures*, to rival the mother country. To these questions, the Lords Commissioners have with much candour replied, in their Representation of 1768. "We admit," said their Lordships, "as an undeniable principle of *true policy*, that, with a view to *prevent manufactures*, it is necessary and proper *to open* an extent of territory for colonization, *proportioned* to an *increase* of people, as a large number of inhabitants, cooped up in narrow limits, without a sufficiency of land *for produce*, would be compelled to *convert* their attention and industry to *manufactures*." But their Lordships at the same time observe, "That the *encouragement* given to the settlement of the colonies upon the sea-coast, and the effect which such encouragement has made has already *effectually* provided for this object."

In what parts of North America this *encouragement* has

thus *provided* for *population*, their Lordships have not mentioned. If the establishment of the governments of Quebec, Nova Scotia, and the Island of St. John's, or East and West Florida, was intended by their Lordships as that effectual provision, we shall presume to deny the proposition, by asserting, as an undoubted truth, that, although there is at least a *million* of subjects in the middle colonies, none have emigrated from thence, and settled in these *new* provinces; and for that reason, and from the very nature of colonization itself, we affirm, that none *will ever* be induced *to exchange* the healthy, temperate climate of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, for the extreme colds or heats of Canada and Nova Scotia, or East and West Florida.

In short, it is not in the power of government, to give any encouragement, that can compensate for a desertion of friends and neighbours, dissolution of family connexions, and abandoning a soil and climate infinitely superior to those of Canada, Nova Scotia, or the Floridas. Will not therefore the inhabitants of the middle provinces, whose population is great beyond example, and who have already made some advances in manufactures, "by confining them to their present narrow limits," be necessarily compelled to convert their whole attention to that object? How then shall this, in the nature of things, be prevented, except, as the Lords Commissioners have justly remarked, "by opening an extent of territory proportioned *to their increase?*" But *where* shall a territory be found proper for "the *colonization* of the inhabitants of the middle colonies?" We answer, in the very country, which the Lords Commissioners have said that the inhabitants of these colonies would have liberty to settle in; a country which his Majesty has purchased from the Six Nations; one

where several thousands of his subjects are already settled; and one *where*, the Lords Commissioners have acknowledged, "a gradual extension might, through the medium of a continued population, upon even the same extent of territory, *preserve a communication* of mutual commercial benefits *between* its *extremest* parts and Great Britain."

VII. This paragraph is introduced, by referring to the extract of a letter from the commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in North America, laid by the Earl of Hillsborough before the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. But, as their Lordships have *not* mentioned either the general's name, or the time *when* the letter was written, or what occasioned his delivering his opinion upon the subject of *colonization in general*, in the "*remote countries*," we can only conjecture, that General Gage was the writer of the letter, and that it was wrote about the year 1768, *when* the plan of the *three new governments* was under the consideration of the then Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, and *before* the lands on the Ohio were bought from, and the boundary line established with, the Six Nations.

Indeed, we think it clear, that the general had *no* other lands, at that time, under his consideration, than what he calls "*remote countries*," such as the *Detroit*, *Illinois*, and the *lower* parts of the Ohio; for he speaks of "*foreign countries*," from which it "would be *too far* to transport some kind of naval stores," and for the same reason could *not*, he says, supply the sugar islands "*with* lumber and provisions." He mentions, also, "planting colonies at *so vast a distance*, that the *very long transportation* (of silk, wine, &c.) must probably make them *too dear* for any market," and *where* "the inhabitants could *not* have *any commodities* to barter for

manufactures, except *skins* and *furs*." And what, in our opinion, fully evinces that the general was giving his sentiments upon settlements at *Detroit*, &c. and *not* on the territory in question, is, that he says, "It will be a question likewise, whether colonization of this kind *could be effected without an Indian war, and fighting for every inch of the ground*."

Why the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations should encumber their *Report* with the opinion of General Gage on what he calls the settlement of a "*foreign country*," that could not be effected without "*fighting for every inch of ground*," and how their Lordships could apply that case to the settlement of a territory, purchased by his Majesty near four years ago, and *now* inhabited by several thousand British subjects, whom the Indians themselves living on the northern side of the Ohio (as shall be fully shown in the course of these observations) have earnestly requested may be immediately governed, we confess we are wholly at a loss to comprehend.

VIII. The eighth paragraph highly extols, not only the *accuracy and precision* of the foregoing Representation of the Lords of Trade in 1768, (which, as has been before observed, expressed, that the inhabitants of the middle colonies *would have liberty to settle over* the mountains and on the Ohio,) but also the above-mentioned letter from the commander-in-chief in America; and at the same time introduces the sentiments of Mr. Wright, governor of Georgia, "on the subject of large grants in the interior parts of America."

When this letter was written; what was the occasion of the governor's writing it; whether he was *then*, from his own knowledge, acquainted with the situation of the country *over* the mountains, with the disposition of the middle colonies, with the capability of the Ohio country, from its soil,

climate, or communication with the River Powtomac, &c., to supply this kingdom with *silk*, *flax*, *hemp*, &c.; and whether the principal part of Mr. Wright's estate is on the *seacoast* in *Georgia*, are facts which we wish had been stated, that it might be known whether Governor Wright's "knowledge and experience in the affairs of the colonies ought," as the Lords of Trade mention, "to give great weight to his opinion," on the present occasion.

The doctrine insisted upon by Governor Wright appears to us reducible to the following propositions; viz.

1st. That if a *vast* territory be granted to any set of gentlemen, who really mean to people it, and actually do so, it *must* draw and carry out a great number of people from Great Britain.

2d. That they will soon become a kind of separate and independent people; who will set up for themselves, will *soon* have manufactures of their own, will *neither* take supplies from the mother country, nor the provinces at *the back* of which they are settled; that, being at such a distance from the seat of *government*, from *courts*, *magistrates*, &c., and *out* of the control of law and government, they will become a receptacle for offenders, &c.

3d. That the seacoast should be *thick* settled with inhabitants, and be well cultivated and improved, &c.

4th. That his ideas are *not* chimerical; that he knows *something* of the situation and state of things in America; and, from some *little* occurrences that have happened, he can very easily *figure* to himself *what may*, and, in short, *what will* certainly happen, if not prevented in time.

On these propositions we shall take the liberty of making a few observations.

To the *first* we answer, we shall, we are persuaded, satisfactorily prove, that in the middle colonies, *viz.* New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, there is hardly any *vacant land*, except such as is monopolized by great landholders, for the purpose of selling *at high prices;* that the poor people of these colonies, with large families of children, *cannot* pay these prices; and that several thousand families, for that reason, have *already* settled upon the Ohio; that we do not wish for, and shall not encourage, one single family of his Majesty's *European subjects* to *settle* there, (and this we have no objection to be prevented from doing,) but shall *wholly* rely on the voluntary superflux of the inhabitants of the middle provinces for settling and cultivating the lands in question.

On the *second*, it is not, we presume, necessary for us to say more, than that all the conjectures and suppositions "of being a kind of separate and independent people," &c. entirely lose their force, on the proposition of a government being established on the grant applied for, as the Lords of Trade themselves acknowledged.

On the *third*, we would only briefly remark, that we have fully answered this objection in the latter part of our answer to the sixth paragraph.

And, as the *fourth* proposition is merely the governor's declaration of his *knowledge* of *something* of the situation and state of things in America, and that, from some *little* occurrences, that have already really happened, he can very easily *figure* to himself what may and *will* certainly happen, if not prevented in time, we say, that, as the governor has not mentioned what these *little* occurrences are, we cannot pretend to judge, whether what he *figures* to himself is any ways rela-

tive to the object under consideration, or, indeed, what else it is relative to.

But, as the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations have thought proper to insert in their *Report* the abovementioned letters from General Gage and Governor Wright, it may not be improper for us to give the opinion of his Majesty's House of Burgesses of the dominion of Virginia on the *very point* in question, as conveyed to his Majesty in their Address of the 4th of August, 1767, and delivered the latter end of that year, to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, by Mr. Montague, agent for the colony. The House of Burgesses say; "We humbly hope, that we shall obtain your royal indulgence, *when we give it as our opinions*, that it will be *for your Majesty's service, and the interest of your American dominions in general, to continue the encouragements*" (which were a *total exemption from any consideration-money whatsoever, and a remission of quit-rent for ten years, and of all kinds of taxes for fifteen years*) "for *settling those frontier lands*." By this means, the House observed, "*new* settlements will be made *by people of property, obedient subjects to government;* but, if the present restriction should continue, we have the strongest reason to believe, *that country will become the resort of fugitives and vagabonds, defiers of law and order, and who in time may form a body dangerous to the peace and civil government of this colony*."

We come now to the consideration of the 9th, 10th, and 11th paragraphs.

In the 9th, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations observe, "that, admitting the settlers over the mountains, and on the Ohio, to be as numerous as *report* states them to be," (and which we shall, from undoubted testimony,

prove to be not less than five thousand families, of at least six persons to a family, independent of some thousand families, which are also settled *over* the mountains, within the limits of the province of Pennsylvania,) yet their Lordships say, "it operates strongly in point of argument *against* what is proposed." And their Lordships add, "If the foregoing reasoning has any weight, it ought certainly to induce the Lords of the committee of the Privy Council to *advise* his Majesty to take every method to CHECK the progress of these settlements; and *not* to make such grants of the land, as will have an immediate tendency to encourage them."

Having, we presume, clearly shown, that the country *southward* of the Great Kenhawa, quite to the Cherokee River, belonged to the Six Nations, and *not* to the Cherokees; that *now* it belongs to the King, in virtue of his Majesty's purchase from the Six Nations; that neither these tribes, *nor* the Cherokees, do hunt between the Great Kenhawa and the land opposite to the Sioto River; that, by the present boundary line, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations would sacrifice to the *Cherokees* an extent of country of at least eight hundred miles in length, which his Majesty has bought and paid for; that the real limits of Virginia do *not* extend westward, beyond the Allegany mountains; that, since the purchase of the country from the Six Nations, his Majesty has not annexed it, nor any part of it, to the colony of Virginia; that there are no settlements made under *legal titles*, on any part of the lands we have agreed for, with the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; that, in the year 1748, the strongest marks of royal encouragement were given to settle the country *over* the mountains; that the *suspension* of this encouragement, by the proclamation of October, 1763,

was merely *temporary*, until the lands were purchased from the natives; that the avidity to settle these lands was so great, that large settlements were made thereon, *before they were purchased;* that, although the settlers were daily exposed to the cruelties of the savages, neither a military force, nor repeated proclamations, could induce them to vacate these lands; that the soil of the country *over* the mountains is excellent, and capable of easily producing *hemp, flax, silk, tobacco, iron, wine,* &c.; that these articles can be cheaply conveyed to a seaport for exportation; that the charge of carriage is so very small, it cannot possibly operate to the prevention of the use of British manufactures; that the King's purchasing the lands from the Indians, and fixing a *boundary line* with them, was for the very purpose of his subjects' settling them; and that the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, in 1768, declared, that the *inhabitants of the middle colonies* would have liberty for that purpose.

And to this train of facts, let us add, that at the congress held with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix in 1768, *when* his Majesty purchased the territory on the Ohio, Messrs. Penn also bought from these Nations a very extensive tract of country *over* the Allegany Mountains, and on that river *joining* the very lands in question; that in the spring 1769, Messrs. Penn opened their *land-office* in Pennsylvania, for the *settling the country* which they had so bought at Fort Stanwix; and all such settlers as had seated themselves *over the mountains*, within the limits of Pennsylvania, *before* the lands were purchased from the natives, have *since* obtained titles for their plantations; that, in 1771, a petition was presented to the Assembly of the province of Pennsylvania, praying that a *new* county may be made over these moun-

tains; that the legislature of that province, in consideration of the great number of families settled *there*, within the limits of that province, did that year enact a law for the *erection* of the lands *over the mountains* into a new county, by the name of *Bedford county;* that, in consequence of such law, William Thompson Esq., was chosen to represent it in the General Assembly; that a sheriff, coroner, justices of the peace, constables, and other civil officers are appointed and do reside *over* the mountains; that all the King's subjects, who are not less than five thousand families, who have made locations and settlements on the lands *southward* of, and adjoining to, the *southern* line of Pennsylvania, live there without any degree of order, law, or government; that, being in this lawless situation, continual quarrels prevail among them; that they have already infringed the *boundary line*, killed several Indians, and encroached on the lands on the opposite side of the Ohio; and that disorders of the most dangerous nature, with respect to the Indians, the *boundary line*, and the *old colonies*, will soon take place among these settlers, if law and subordination are not immediately established among them. Can these facts be possibly perverted so as to operate, either in point of argument or policy, *against* the proposition of governing the King's subjects on the lands in question?

It ought to be considered, also, that we have agreed to pay as much for a small *part* of the cession made at Fort Stanwix, as the *whole* cession cost the crown, and at the same time to be at the entire expence of establishing and supporting the proposed new colony.[1]

[1] The parliamentary grants for the civil establishment of the provinces of Nova Scotia, Georgia, and East and West Florida, amount to *one million twelve thousand eight hundred and thirty-one pounds two shillings and eight*

The truth is, the inhabitants settled on this tract of country are in so ungoverned and lawless a situation, that the very Indians themselves complain of it; so that, if they are *not* soon governed, an Indian war will be the inevitable consequence. This, we presume, is evident, both from the correspondence of General Gage with the Earl of Hillsborough and a speech of the chiefs of the *Delawares*, *Munsies*, and *Mohickons*, living on the Ohio, to the governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, lately transmitted by the General to his Lordship.

In this speech these nations observe, that, since the sale of the lands to the King on the Ohio, "*Great numbers more of your people* have come *over* the great mountains and settled throughout this country; and we are sorry to tell you, that several quarrels have happened between your people and ours, *in which people have been killed on both sides;* and that we now see the nations round us and your people *ready to embroil in a quarrel*, which gives our nations great concern, as we, on *our* parts, want to live in friendship with you. As you have always told us, *you have laws* to govern your

pence halfpenny, as the following account shows; and, notwithstanding this vast expence, the King has not received any quit-rents from these provinces. How different is the present proposition, for the establishment of the Ohio colony? In this case, the crown is to be paid for the lands, (and which is the first instance of any being sold in North America.) Government is to be exempted from the expence of supporting the colony, and the King will receive his quit-rents, neat and clear of all deductions, (which deductions in the old colonies are at least twenty per centum,) as will more particularly appear by a state of the King's quit-rents annexed hereto.

The parliamentary grants above mentioned are as follows;

To Nova Scotia . . .	£707,320	19*s.*	7¼*d.*
To Georgia	214,610	3	1¼
To East Florida . . .	45,450		
To West Florida . . .	45,450		F.

people by, but we do not see that you have; therefore, brethren, *unless you can fall upon some method of governing your people, who live between the great mountains and the Ohio River, and who are very numerous*, it will be out of the Indians' power to *govern* their young men; for, we assure you, the black clouds begin to gather fast in this country, and, *if something is not soon done*, these clouds will deprive us of seeing the sun. We desire you *to give the greatest attention* to what we now tell you; *as it comes from our hearts*, and a desire we have to live in peace and friendship with our brethren the English, and therefore it grieves us to see some of the nations about us and your people *ready to strike each other.* We find your people are very fond of our rich land; we see them quarrelling with each other every day about land, and burning one another's houses, so that we do not know how soon *they may come over the River Ohio*, and drive us from our villages; *nor do we see you, brothers, take any care to stop them.*"

This speech, from tribes of such great influence and weight upon the Ohio, conveys much useful information; it establishes the fact of the settlers *over* the mountains being *very numerous;* it shews the entire approbation of the Indians, in respect to a colony being established on the Ohio; it pathetically complains of the King's subjects *not* being governed; and it confirms the assertion mentioned by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations in the eighth paragraph of their Report, "that if the settlers are suffered to continue in the lawless state of anarchy and confusion, they will commit such abuses as cannot fail of involving us in quarrels and disputes with the Indians, *and thereby endanger the security of his Majesty's colonies.*"

The Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, however, pay no regard to all these circumstances, but content themselves with observing, "We see nothing to hinder the government of Virginia from extending the laws and constitution of that colony to *such persons as may have already settled there under legal titles.*" To this we *repeat,* that there are *no such* persons, as have settled *under legal titles;* and, even admitting there were, as their Lordships say, in the 10th paragraph, "it *appears to them,* there are *some possessions* derived from grants made by the governor and council of Virginia," and allowing that the laws and constitution of Virginia *did,* as they unquestionably *do not, extend* to this territory, have the Lords Commissioners proposed any expedient for governing those many thousand families, who have *not* settled *under legal titles,* but only agreeably to the ancient *usage of location?* Certainly not. But, on the contrary, their Lordships have recommended, that his Majesty should be advised to take every method *to check* the progress of their settlements; and thereby leave them in their present lawless situation, at the risk of involving the middle colonies in a war with the natives, pregnant with a loss of subjects, loss of commerce, and depopulation of their frontier counties.

Having made these observations, it may next be proper to consider, *how* the laws and constitution of Virginia can possibly be *extended,* so as effectually to operate on the territory in question. Is not Williamsburgh, the capital of Virginia, at least 400 miles from the settlements on the Ohio? Do *not* the laws of Virginia require, that all persons guilty of capital crimes *shall* be tried *only* in Williamsburgh? Is not the General Assembly held there? Is not the court of King's Bench, or the superior court of the dominion, kept there?

Has Virginia provided any fund for the support of the officers of these *distant* settlements, or for the transporting offenders, and paying the expence of witnesses travelling 800 miles (*viz.* going and returning), and during their stay at Williamsburgh? And will not these settlers be exactly (for the reasons assigned) in the situation described by Governor Wright, in the very letter which the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations have so warmly recommended, viz. "such persons as are settled at the *back* of the provinces, being at a *distance* from the *seat of government*, courts, magistrates, &c., they will be *out* of the *reach* and controul of law and government, and their settlement will become a receptacle and a kind of asylum for offenders"?

On the 11th paragraph, we apprehend, it is not necessary to say much. The reservatory clause proposed in our Memorial is what is usual in royal grants; and in the present case, the Lords of the committee of the Privy Council, we hope, will be of opinion, it is quite sufficient; more especially as we are able to prove to their Lordships, that there are no "possessions," within the boundaries of the lands under consideration, which are held "*under legal titles*."

To conclude: As it has been demonstrated, that neither royal nor provincial proclamations, nor the dread and horrors of a savage war, were sufficient, even *before* the country was purchased from the Indians, to prevent the settlement of the lands *over* the mountains, can it be conceived, that, *now* the country is purchased, and the people have seen the proprietors of Pennsylvania, who are the hereditary supporters of *British policy* in their own province, give every degree of encouragement to *settle* the lands *westward* of the mountains, the legislature of the province, at the same time,

effectually corroborate the measure, and several thousand families, in consequence thereof, settle in the *new county* of Bedford, that the inhabitants of the middle colonies will be *restrained* from cultivating the luxuriant country of the Ohio, joining to the *southern* line of Pennsylvania? But, even admitting that it might formerly have been a question of some propriety, whether the country should be permitted to be settled, that cannot surely become a subject of inquiry now, when it is an obvious and certain truth, *that at least thirty thousand British subjects are already settled there.* Is it fit to leave such a body of people *lawless and ungoverned?* Will sound policy recommend this manner of colonizing and increasing the wealth, strength, and commerce of the empire? Or will it not point out, that it is the indispensable duty of government to render *bad* subjects *useful* subjects; and for that purpose *immediately* to establish law and subordination among them, and thereby *early* confirm *their* native attachment to the laws, traffic, and customs of this kingdom?

On the whole, we presume that we have, both by facts and sound argument, shewn, that the opinion of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations on the object in question is *not* well founded; and that, if their Lordships' opinion should be adopted, it would be attended with the most mischievous and dangerous consequences to the commerce, peace, and safety of his Majesty's colonies in America.

We therefore hope the expediency and utility of erecting the lands agreed for into a separate colony, without delay, will be considered as a measure of the soundest policy, highly conducive to the peace and security of the old colonies, to the preservation of the boundary line, and to the commercial interests of the mother country.

APPENDIX

626. TO PETER FRANKLIN[1]

[No date.]

Dear Brother,

I like your ballad, and think it well adapted for your purpose of discountenancing expensive foppery, and encouraging industry and frugality. If you can get it generally sung in your country, it may probably have a good deal of the effect you hope and expect from it. But as you aimed at making it general, I wonder you chose so uncommon a measure in poetry, that none of the tunes in common use will suit it. Had you fitted it to an old one, well known, it must have spread much faster than I doubt it will do from the best new tune we can get compos'd for it. I think too, that if you had given it to some country girl in the heart of the *Massachusetts*, who has never heard any other than psalm tunes, or *Chevy Chace*, the *Children in the Wood*, the *Spanish Lady*, and such old simple ditties, but has naturally a good ear, she might more probably have made a pleasing popular tune for you, than any of our masters here, and more

[1] From "Experiments and Observations on Electricity," London, 1769, p. 473. — Ed.

proper for your purpose, which would best be answered, if every word could as it is sung be understood by all that hear it, and if the emphasis you intend for particular words could be given by the singer as well as by the reader; much of the force and impression of the song depending on those circumstances. I will however get it as well done for you as I can.

Do not imagine that I mean to depreciate the skill of our composers of music here; they are admirable at pleasing *practised* ears, and know how to delight *one another;* but, in composing for songs, the reigning taste seems to be quite out of nature, or rather the reverse of nature, and yet like a torrent, hurries them all away with it; one or two perhaps only excepted.

You, in the spirit of some ancient legislators, would influence the manners of your country by the united powers of poetry and music. By what I can learn of *their* songs, the music was simple, conformed itself to the usual pronunciation of words, as to measure, cadence or emphasis, &c., never disguised and confounded the language by making a long syllable short, or a short one long, when sung; their singing was only a more pleasing, because a melodious manner of speaking; it was capable of all the graces of prose oratory, while it added the pleasure of harmony. A modern song, on the contrary, neglects all the proprieties and beauties of common speech, and in their place introduces its *defects* and *absurdities* as so many graces. I am afraid you will hardly take my word for this, and therefore I must endeavour to support it by proof. Here is the first song I lay my hand on. It happens to be a composition of one of our greatest masters, the ever-famous *Handel.* It is not

one of his juvenile performances, before his taste could be improved and formed: It appeared when his reputation was at the highest, is greatly admired by all his admirers, and is really excellent in its kind. It is called, "*The additional* Favourite *Song in* Judas Maccabeus." Now I reckon among the defects and improprieties of common speech, the following, viz.

1. *Wrong placing the accent or emphasis*, by laying it on words of no importance, or on wrong syllables.

2. *Drawling;* or extending the sound of words or syllables beyond their natural length.

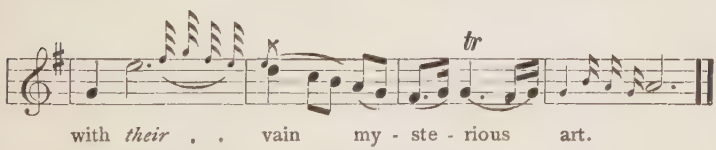
3. *Stuttering;* or making many syllables of one.

4. *Unintelligibleness;* the result of the three foregoing united.

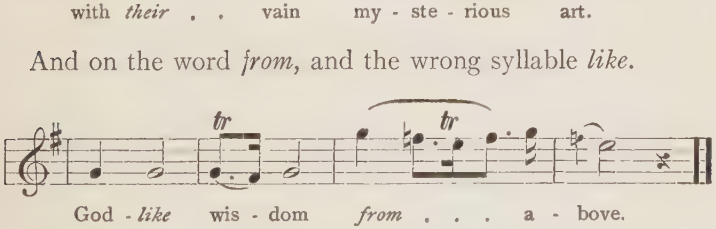
5. *Tautology;* and

6. *Screaming*, without cause.

For the *wrong placing of the accent, or emphasis*, see it on the word *their* instead of being on the word *vain.*

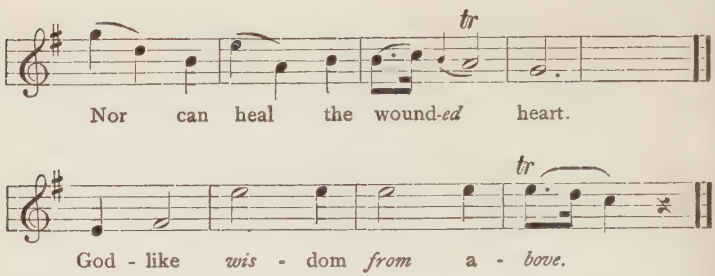


And on the word *from*, and the wrong syllable *like.*

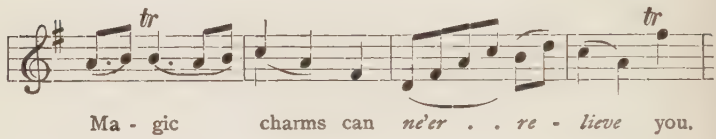


For the *drawling*, see the last syllable of the word *wounded* (see p. 532).

And in the syllable *wis*, and the word *from*, and syllable *bove.*



For the *stuttering*, see the words *ne'er relieve*, in



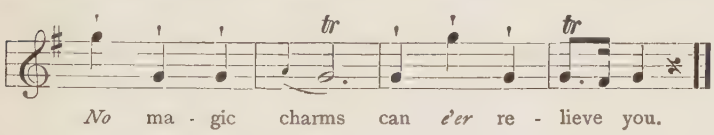
Here are four syllables made of one, and eight of three; but this is moderate. I have seen in another song, that I cannot now find, seventeen syllables made of three, and sixteen of one. The latter I remember was the word *charms;* viz. *cha, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, arms.* Stammering with a witness!

For the *unintelligibleness;* give this whole song to any taught singer, and let her sing it to any company that have never heard it; you shall find they will not understand three words in ten. It is therefore that at the oratorios and operas one sees with books in their hands all those who desire to understand what they hear sung by even our best performers.

For the *Tautology;* you have, *with their vain mysterious art*, twice repeated; *magic charms can ne'er relieve you*, three times. *Nor can heal the wounded heart*, three times. *God-*

like wisdom from above, twice; and, *this alone can ne'er deceive you*, two or three times. But this is reasonable when compared with *the Monster Polypheme*, *the Monster Polypheme*, a hundred times over and over, in his admired *Acis and Galatea*.

As to the *screaming;* perhaps I cannot find a fair instance in this song; but whoever has frequented our operas will remember many. And yet here methinks the words *no* and *e'er*, when sung to these notes, have a little of the air of *screaming*, and would actually be screamed by some singers.



I send you inclosed the song with its music at length. Read the words without the repetitions. Observe how few they are, and what a shower of notes attend them: You will then perhaps be inclined to think with me, that though the words might be the principal part of an ancient song, they are of small importance in a modern one; they are in short only a *pretence for singing*.

I am, as ever,

Your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I might have mentioned *inarticulation* among the defects in common speech that are assumed as beauties in modern singing. But as that seems more the fault of the singer than of the composer, I omitted it in what related merely to the composition. The fine singer, in the present mode, stifles all the hard consonants, and polishes away all

the rougher parts of words that serve to distinguish them one from another; so that you hear nothing but an admirable pipe, and understand no more of the song, than you would from its tune played on any other instrument. If ever it was the ambition of musicians to make instruments that should imitate the human voice, that ambition seems now reversed, the voice aiming to be like an instrument. Thus wigs were first made to imitate a good natural head of hair; but when they became fashionable, though in unnatural forms, we have seen natural hair dressed to look like wigs.

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627. ON THE PRICE OF CORN, AND MANAGEMENT OF THE POOR.

The following extracts from a letter, signed COLUMELLA, and addressed to the editors of *The Repository for select Papers on Agriculture, Arts, and Manufactures* (Vol. I, p. 352), will serve the purpose of preparing those who read it, for entering upon this paper.

"GENTLEMEN,

"There is now publishing in France a periodical work, called *Ephémérides du Citoyen*, in which several points, interesting to those concerned in agriculture, are from time to time discussed by some able hands. In looking over one of the volumes of this work a few days ago, I found a little piece written by one of our countrymen, and which our vigilant neighbours had taken from *The London Chronicle* in 1766. The author is a gentleman well known to every man of letters in Europe; and perhaps there is none, in this age, to whom mankind in general are more indebted. That this piece may not be lost to our own country, I beg you will give it a place in your *Repository*. It was written in favour of the farmers, when they suffered so much abuse in our public papers, and were also plundered by the mob in many places." — V.

TO THE PUBLIC.

I AM one of that class of people, that feeds you all, and at present is abused by you all; in short I am a *farmer*.

By your newspapers we are told, that God had sent a very short harvest to some other countries of Europe. I thought this might be in favour of Old England; and that now we should get a good price for our grain, which would bring millions among us, and make us flow in money; that to be sure is scarce enough.

But the wisdom of government forbade the exportation.

"Well," says I, "then we must be content with the market price at home."

"No;" say my lords the mob, "you sha'nt have that. Bring your corn to market if you dare; we 'll sell it for you for less money, or take it for nothing."

Being thus attacked by both ends *of the constitution*, the head and tail *of government*, what am I to do?

Must I keep my corn in the barn, to feed and increase the breed of rats? Be it so; they cannot be less thankful than those I have been used to feed.

Are we farmers the only people to be grudged the profits of our honest labour? And why? One of the late scribblers against us gives a bill of fare of the provisions at my daughter's wedding, and proclaims to all the world, that we had the insolence to eat beef and pudding! Has he not read the precept in the good Book, *Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn;* or does he think us less worthy of good living than our oxen?

"O, but the manufacturers! the manufacturers! they are to be favoured, and they must have bread at a cheap rate!"

Hark ye, Mr. Oaf; the farmers live splendidly, you say. And pray, would you have them hoard the money they get? Their fine clothes and furniture, do they make them themselves, or for one another, and so keep the money among them? Or do they employ these your darling manufacturers, and so scatter it again all over the nation?

The wool would produce me a better price, if it were suffered to go to foreign markets; but that, Messieurs the Public, your laws will not permit. It must be kept all at home, that our *dear* manufacturers may have it the cheaper. And then, having yourselves thus lessened our encouragement for raising sheep, you curse us for the scarcity of mutton!

I have heard my grandfather say, that the farmers submitted to the prohibition on the exportation of wool, being made to expect and believe, that, when the manufacturer bought his wool cheaper, they should also have their cloth cheaper. But the deuce a bit. It has been growing dearer and dearer from that day to this. How so? Why, truly, the cloth is exported; and that keeps up the price.

Now, if it be a good principle, that the exportation of a commodity is to be restrained, that so our people at home may have it the cheaper, stick to that principle, and go thorough-stitch with it. Prohibit the exportation of your cloth, your leather, and shoes, your iron ware, and your manufactures of all sorts, to make them all cheaper at home. And cheap enough they will be, I will warrant you; till people leave off making them.

Some folks seem to think they ought never to be easy till England becomes another Lubberland, where it is fancied that streets are paved with penny-rolls, the houses tiled with pancakes, and chickens, ready roasted, cry, "Come eat me."

I say, when you are sure you have got a good principle, stick to it, and carry it through. I hear it is said, that though it was *necessary and right* for the ministry to advise a prohibition of the exportation of corn, yet it was *contrary to law;* and also, that though it was *contrary to law* for the mob to obstruct wagons, yet it was *necessary and right.* Just the same thing to a tittle. Now they tell me, an act of indemnity ought to pass in favour of the ministry, to secure them from the consequences of having acted illegally. If so, pass another in favour of the mob. Others say, some of the mob ought to be hanged, by way of example. If so, — but I say no more than I have said before, *when you are sure that you have a good principle, go through with it.*

You say, poor labourers cannot afford to buy bread at a high price, unless they had higher wages. Possibly. But how shall we farmers be able to afford our labourers higher wages, if you will not allow us to get, when we might have it, a higher price for our corn?

By all that I can learn, we should at least have had a guinea a quarter more, if the exportation had been allowed. And this money England would have got from foreigners.

But, it seems, we farmers must take so much less, that the poor may have it so much cheaper.

This operates, then, as a tax for the maintenance of the poor. A very good thing you will say. But I ask, Why a partial tax? why laid on us farmers only? If it be a good thing, pray, Messieurs the Public, take your share of it, by indemnifying us a little out of your public treasury. In doing a good thing, there is both honour and pleasure; you are welcome to your share of both.

For my own part, I am not so well satisfied of the good-

ness of this thing. I am for doing good to the poor, but I differ in opinion about the means. I think the best way of doing good to the poor, is, not making them easy *in* poverty, but leading or driving them *out* of it. In my youth, I travelled much, and I observed in different countries, that the more public provisions were made for the poor, the less they provided for themselves, and of course became poorer. And, on the contrary, the less was done for them, the more they did for themselves, and became richer. There is no country in the world where so many provisions are established for them; so many hospitals to receive them when they are sick or lame, founded and maintained by voluntary charities; so many almshouses for the aged of both sexes, together with a solemn general law made by the rich to subject their estates to a heavy tax for the support of the poor. Under all these obligations, are our poor modest, humble, and thankful? And do they use their best endeavours to maintain themselves, and lighten our shoulders of this burthen? On the contrary, I affirm, that there is no country in the world in which the poor are more idle, dissolute, drunken, and insolent. The day you passed that act, you took away from before their eyes the greatest of all inducements to industry, frugality, and sobriety, by giving them a dependence on somewhat else than a careful accumulation during youth and health, for support in age or sickness.

In short, you offered a premium for the encouragement of idleness, and you should not now wonder, that it has had its effect in the increase of poverty. Repeal that law, and you will soon see a change in their manners. *Saint Monday* and *Saint Tuesday* will soon cease to be holidays. Six

days shalt thou labour, though one of the old commandments long treated as out of date, will again be looked upon as a respectable precept; industry will increase, and with it plenty among the lower people; their circumstances will mend, and more will be done for their happiness by inuring them to provide for themselves, than could be done by dividing all your estates among them.

Excuse me, Messieurs the Public, if, upon this *interesting* subject, I put you to the trouble of reading a little of *my* nonsense. I am sure I have lately read a great deal of *yours*, and therefore from you (at least from those of you who are writers) I deserve a little indulgence.

I am yours, &c. ARATOR.

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628. DIRECTIONS FOR DISCOVERING WHETHER THE POWER THAT GIVES THE SHOCK IN TOUCHING THE TORPEDO OR THE GYMNOTUS OF SURINAM IS ELECTRICAL OR NOT (A. P. S.)

1. Touch the Fish with a Stick of dry Sealing-Wax, or Rod of dry Glass, and observe whether the Stroke can be communicated thro' those Bodies.

Touch him with a Rod of Iron or other Metal. If the Stroke is communicated thro' the latter, and not thro' the former it seems probable that it is not the mechanical Effect of some muscular Exertion as heretofore supposed, but the Effect of some subtile Fluid, similar in one Property at least to that of Electricity.

2. Then observe whether the Stroke can be receiv'd without actual contact of the Iron with the Fish. If it can, observe whether any Light appears in the intermediate Space, and whether any Noise or Snap is heard at the Time.

If so it agrees in most Properties with the Electric Fluid.

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629. TO THOMAS PERCIVAL[1]

On my return to London I found your favour of the 16th of May (1771). I wish I could, as you desire, give you a better explanation of the phenomenon in question, since you seem not quite satisfied with your own; but I think we want more and a greater variety of experiments in different circumstances, to enable us to form a thoroughly satisfactory hypothesis. Not that I make the least doubt of the facts already related, as I know both Lord Charles Cavendish and Dr. Heberden to be very accurate experimenters; but I wish to know the event of the trials proposed in your six queries; and also, whether in the same place where the lower vessel receives nearly twice the quantity of water that is received by the upper, a third vessel placed at half the height will receive a quantity proportionable. I will however endeavour to explain to you what occurred to me, when I first heard of the fact.

I suppose it will be generally allowed, on a little consideration of the subject, that scarce any drop of water was, when

[1] This letter is without date, but was probably written in the year 1771, since it was in answer to a letter dated in May of that year. It was first printed in the "Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester," Vol. II, p. 110, having been communicated to the society by Dr. Percival, and read on the 21st of January, 1784. — S.

it began to fall from the clouds, of a magnitude equal to that it has acquired, when it arrives at the earth; the same of the several pieces of hail; because they are often so large and so weighty, that we cannot conceive a possibility of their being suspended in the air, and remaining at rest there, for any time, how small soever; nor do we conceive any means of forming them so large, before they set out to fall. It seems then, that each beginning drop, and particle of hail, receives continual addition in its progress downwards. This may be several ways; by the union of numbers in their course, so that what was at first only descending mist, becomes a shower; or by each particle, in its descent through air that contains a great quantity of dissolved water, striking against, attaching to itself, and carrying down with it such particles of that dissolved water, as happen to be in its way; or attracting to itself such as do not lie directly in its course by its different state with regard either to common or electric fire; or by all these causes united.

In the first case, by the uniting of numbers, larger drops might be made, but the quantity falling in the same place would be the same at all heights; unless, as you mention, the whole should be contracted in falling, the lines described by all the drops converging, so that what set out to fall from a cloud of many thousand acres, should reach the earth in perhaps a third of that extent, of which I somewhat doubt. In the other cases we have two experiments.

1. A dry glass bottle filled with very cold water, in a warm day, will presently collect from the seemingly dry air that surrounds it a quantity of water, that shall cover its surface and run down its sides; which perhaps is done by the power wherewith the cold water attracts the fluid common fire that

had been united with the dissolved water in the air, and drawing the fire through the glass into itself, leaves the water on the outside.

2. An electrified body, left in a room for some time, will be more covered with dust than other bodies in the same room not electrified, which dust seems to be attracted from the circumambient air.

Now we know that the rain, even in our hottest days, comes from a very cold region. Its falling sometimes in the form of ice shows this clearly; and perhaps even the rain is snow or ice, when it first moves downwards, though thawed in falling; and we know that the drops of rain are often electrified. But those causes of addition to each drop of water, or piece of hail, one would think could not long continue to produce the same effect; since the air, through which the drops fall, must soon be stripped of its previously dissolved water, so as to be no longer capable of augmenting them. Indeed very heavy showers, of either, are never of long continuance; but moderate rains often continue so long as to puzzle this hypothesis; so that upon the whole I think, as I intimated before, that we are yet hardly ripe for making one.

B. FRANKLIN.

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630. TO BARBEU DUBOURG[1]

I AM apprehensive, that I shall not be able to find leisure for making all the disquisitions and experiments which would

[1] From "Œuvres de M. Franklin" (Dubourg), 1773, Vol. II, p. 258. Date unknown, but in reply to a letter from Dubourg, dated February 12, 1773. — ED.

be desirable on this subject. I must, therefore, content myself with a few remarks.

The specific gravity of some human bodies, in comparison to that of water, has been examined by Mr. Robinson, in our Philosophical Transactions, Volume L., page 30, for the year 1757. He asserts, that fat persons with small bones float most easily upon the water.

The diving-bell is accurately described in our Transactions.

When I was a boy, I made two oval palettes, each about ten inches long, and six broad, with a hole for the thumb, in order to retain it fast in the palm of my hand. They much resembled a painter's palettes. In swimming I pushed the edges of these forward, and I struck the water with their flat surfaces as I drew them back. I remember I swam faster by means of these pallets, but they fatigued my wrists. I also fitted to the soles of my feet a kind of sandals; but I was not satisfied with them, because I observed that the stroke is partly given by the inside of the feet and the ancles, and not entirely with the soles of the feet.

We have here waistcoats for swimming, which are made of double sail-cloth, with small pieces of cork quilted in between them.

I know nothing of the *scaphandre* of M. de la Chapelle.

I know by experience, that it is a great comfort to a swimmer, who has a considerable distance to go, to turn himself sometimes on his back, and to vary in other respects the means of procuring a progressive motion.

When he is seized with the cramp in the leg, the method of driving it away is, to give to the parts affected a sudden, vigorous, and violent shock; which he may do in the air as he swims on his back.

During the great heats of summer there is no danger in bathing, however warm we may be, in rivers which have been thoroughly warmed by the sun. But to throw one's self into cold spring water, when the body has been heated by exercise in the sun, is an imprudence which may prove fatal. I once knew an instance of four young men, who, having worked at harvest in the heat of the day, with a view of refreshing themselves plunged into a spring of cold water; two died upon the spot, a third the next morning, and the fourth recovered with great difficulty. A copious draught of cold water, in similar circumstances, is frequently attended with the same effect in North America.

The exercise of swimming is one of the most healthy and agreeable in the world. After having swam for an hour or two in the evening, one sleeps coolly the whole night, even during the most ardent heat of summer. Perhaps, the pores being cleansed, the insensible perspiration increases and occasions this coolness. It is certain that much swimming is the means of stopping a diarrhœa, and even of producing a constipation. With respect to those, who do not know how to swim, or who are affected with a diarrhœa at a season which does not permit them to use that exercise, a warm bath, by cleansing and purifying the skin, is found very salutary, and often effects a radical cure. I speak from my own experience, frequently repeated, and that of others, to whom I have recommended this.

You will not be displeased if I conclude these hasty remarks by informing you, that as the ordinary method of swimming is reduced to the act of rowing with the arms and legs, and is consequently a laborious and fatiguing operation when the space of water to be crossed is considerable; there

is a method in which a swimmer may pass to great distances with much facility, by means of a sail. This discovery I fortunately made by accident, and in the following manner.

When I was a boy, I amused myself one day with flying a paper kite; and approaching the bank of a pond, which was near a mile broad, I tied the string to a stake, and the kite ascended to a very considerable height above the pond, while I was swimming. In a little time, being desirous of amusing myself with my kite, and enjoying at the same time the pleasure of swimming, I returned; and, loosing from the stake the string with the little stick which was fastened to it, went again into the water, where I found, that, lying on my back and holding the stick in my hands, I was drawn along the surface of the water in a very agreeable manner. Having then engaged another boy to carry my clothes round the pond, to a place which I pointed out to him on the other side, I began to cross the pond with my kite, which carried me quite over without the least fatigue, and with the greatest pleasure imaginable. I was only obliged occasionally to halt a little in my course, and resist its progress, when it appeared that, by following too quick, I lowered the kite too much; by doing which occasionally I made it rise again. I have never since that time practised this singular mode of swimming, though I think it not impossible to cross in this manner from Dover to Calais. The packet-boat, however, is still preferable.

B. FRANKLIN.

631. TO OLIVER NEAVE[1]

Dear Sir,

I cannot be of opinion with you that it is too late in life for you to learn to swim. The river near the bottom of your garden affords a most convenient place for the purpose. And as your new employment requires your being often on the water, of which you have such a dread, I think you would do well to make the trial; nothing being so likely to remove those apprehensions as the consciousness of an ability to swim to the shore, in case of an accident, or of supporting yourself in the water till a boat could come to take you up.

I do not know how far corks or bladders may be useful in learning to swim, having never seen much trial of them. Possibly they may be of service in supporting the body while you are learning what is called the stroke, or that manner of drawing in and striking out the hands and feet that is necessary to produce progressive motion. But you will be no swimmer till you can place some confidence in the power of the water to support you; I would therefore advise the acquiring that confidence in the first place; especially as I have known several, who, by a little of the practice necessary for that purpose, have insensibly acquired the stroke, taught as it were by nature.

The practice I mean is this. Choosing a place where the water deepens gradually, walk coolly into it till it is up to your breast, then turn round, your face to the shore, and throw an egg into the water between you and the shore. It will sink

[1] Translated from "Œuvres de M. Franklin" (Dubourg), Vol. II. p. 241. Date unknown. — Ed.

to the bottom, and be easily seen there, as your water is clear. It must lie in water so deep as that you cannot reach it to take it up but by diving for it. To encourage yourself in order to do this, reflect that your progress will be from deeper to shallower water, and that at any time you may, by bringing your legs under you and standing on the bottom, raise your head far above the water. Then plunge under it with your eyes open, throwing yourself towards the egg, and endeavouring by the action of your hands and feet against the water to get forward till within reach of it. In this attempt you will find, that the water buoys you up against your inclination; that it is not so easy a thing to sink as you imagined; that you cannot but by active force get down to the egg. Thus you feel the power of the water to support you, and learn to confide in that power; while your endeavours to overcome it, and to reach the egg, teach you the manner of acting on the water with your feet and hands, which action is afterwards used in swimming to support your head higher above water, or to go forward through it.

I would the more earnestly press you to the trial of this method, because, though I think I satisfied you that your body is lighter than water, and that you might float in it a long time with your mouth free for breathing, if you would put yourself in a proper posture, and would be still and forbear struggling; yet till you have obtained this experimental confidence in the water, I cannot depend on your having the necessary presence of mind to recollect that posture and the directions I gave you relating to it. The surprise may put all out of your mind. For though we value ourselves on being reasonable, knowing creatures, reason and knowledge seem on such occasions to be of little use to us; and

the brutes, to whom we allow scarce a glimmering of either, appear to have the advantage of us.

I will, however, take this opportunity of repeating those particulars to you, which I mentioned in our last conversation, as, by perusing them at your leisure, you may possibly imprint them so in your memory as on occasion to be of some use to you.

1. That though the legs, arms, and head, of a human body, being solid parts, are specifically something heavier than fresh water, yet the trunk, particularly the upper part, from its hollowness, is so much lighter than water, as that the whole of the body taken together is too light to sink wholly under water, but some part will remain above, until the lungs become filled with water, which happens from drawing water into them instead of air, when a person in the fright attempts breathing while the mouth and nostrils are under water.

2. That the legs and arms are specifically lighter than salt water, and will be supported by it, so that a human body would not sink in salt water, though the lungs were filled as above, but from the greater specific gravity of the head.

3. That therefore a person throwing himself on his back in salt water, and extending his arms, may easily lie so as to keep his mouth and nostrils free for breathing; and by a small motion of his hands may prevent turning, if he should perceive any tendency to it.

4. That in fresh water, if a man throws himself on his back, near the surface, he cannot long continue in that situation but by proper action of his hands on the water. If he uses no such action, the legs and lower part of the body will gradually sink till he comes into an upright position, in which he will continue suspended, the hollow of the breast keeping the head uppermost.

5. But if, in this erect position, the head is kept upright above the shoulders, as when we stand on the ground, the immersion will, by the weight of that part of the head that is out of water, reach above the mouth and nostrils, perhaps a little above the eyes, so that a man cannot long remain suspended in water with his head in that position.

6. The body continuing suspended as before, and upright, if the head be leaned quite back, so that the face looks upwards, all the back part of the head being then under water, and its weight consequently in a great measure supported by it, the face will remain above water quite free for breathing, will rise an inch higher every inspiration, and sink as much every expiration, but never so low as that the water may come over the mouth.

7. If therefore a person, unacquainted with swimming and falling accidentally into the water, could have presence of mind sufficient to avoid struggling and plunging, and to let the body take this natural position, he might continue long safe from drowning till perhaps help would come. For as to the clothes, their additional weight while immersed is very inconsiderable, the water supporting it, though when he comes out of the water, he would find them very heavy indeed.

But, as I said before, I would not advise you or any one to depend on having this presence of mind on such an occasion, but learn fairly to swim; as I wish all men were taught to do in their youth. They would, on many occurrences, be the safer for having that skill, and on many more the happier, as freer from painful apprehensions of danger, to say nothing of the enjoyment in so delightful and wholesome an exercise. Soldiers particularly should, methinks, all be taught to swim; it might be of frequent use either in surprising an enemy, or

saving themselves. And if I had now boys to educate, I should prefer those schools (other things being equal) where an opportunity was afforded for acquiring so advantageous an art, which, once learned, is never forgotten.

I am, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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632. PETITION OF THE LETTER Z[1]

From "The Tatler," No. 1778.

TO THE WORSHIPFUL ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, ESQUIRE, CENSOR-GENERAL

The petition of the letter Z, commonly called *Ezzard*, *Zed*, or *Izard*, most humbly showeth;

That your petitioner is of as high extraction, and has as good an estate, as any other letter of the Alphabet;

That there is therefore no reason why he should be treated as he is, with disrespect and indignity ;

That he is not only actually placed at the tail of the Alphabet, when he had as much right as any other to be at the head; but is by the injustice of his enemies totally excluded from the word WISE; and his place injuriously filled by a little hissing, crooked, serpentine, venomous letter, called S, when it must be evident to your worship, and to all the world, that W, I, S, E, do not spell *Wize*, but *Wise*.

Your petitioner therefore prays, that the Alphabet may by your censorial authority be reversed; and that in consideration of his long-suffering and patience he may be placed

[1] The date of this *jeu d'esprit* in imitation of "The Tatler," from which it purports to be an extract, is not known. — ED.

at the head of it; that *s* may be turned out of the word *Wise;* and the petitioner employed instead of him.

And your petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c. &c.

Mr. Bickerstaff, having examined the allegations of the above petition, judges and determines, that Z be admonished to be content with his station, forbear reflections upon his brother letters, and remember his own small usefulness, and the little occasion there is for him in the Republic of Letters, since S whom he so despises can so well serve instead of him.

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633. TO JOSEPH PRIESTLEY[1]

[*Effect of Vegetation on Noxious Air*]

—— THAT the vegetable creation should restore the air which is spoiled by the animal part of it, looks like a rational system, and seems to be of a piece with the rest. Thus fire purifies water all the world over. It purifies it by distillation, when it raises it in vapours, and lets it fall in rain; and farther still by filtration, when, keeping it fluid, it suffers that rain to percolate the earth. We knew before, that putrid animal substances were converted into sweet vegetables, when mixed with the earth, and applied as manure; and now it seems that the same putrid substances, mixed with the air, have a simi-

[1] This extract is taken from Priestley's "Experiments on Air" (Vol. I, p. 94), 3d Edition. The author introduces it with the following remark: "Dr. Franklin, who, as I have already observed, saw some of my plants in a very flourishing state, in noxious air, was pleased to express very great satisfaction with the result of the experiments. In answer to the letter in which I informed him of it, he says," &c. — S.

lar effect. The strong thriving state of your mint, in putrid air, seems to show, that the air is mended by taking something from it, and not by adding to it. I hope this will give some check to the rage of destroying trees that grow near houses, which has accompanied our late improvements in gardening, from an opinion of their being unwholesome. I am certain, from long observation, that there is nothing unhealthy in the air of woods; for we Americans have everywhere our country habitations in the midst of woods, and no people on earth enjoy better health, or are more prolific. ——

B. FRANKLIN.

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634. TO BARBEU DUBOURG[1]

[On the Nature of Sea Coal]

—— I AM persuaded, as well as you, that the sea coal has a vegetable origin, and that it has been formed near the surface of the earth; but, as preceding convulsions of nature had served to bring it very deep in many places, and covered it with many different strata, we are indebted to subsequent convulsions for having brought within our view the extremities of its veins, so as to lead us to penetrate the earth in search of it. I visited last summer a large coal mine at Whitehaven, in Cumberland; and, in following the vein and descending by degrees towards the sea, I penetrated below the ocean, where the level of its surface was more than eight hundred fathoms above my head, and the miners assured me, that

[1] Translated from M. Dubourg's edition of Franklin's writings ("Œuvres de M. Franklin," 1773, Vol. II, p. 199). Its date is uncertain, but it was probably written about the year 1770. — ED.

their works extended some miles beyond the place where I then was, continually and gradually descending under the sea. The slate, which forms the roof of this coal mine, is impressed in many places with the figures of leaves and branches of fern, which undoubtedly grew at the surface when the slate was in the state of sand on the banks of the sea. Thus it appears, that this vein of coal has suffered a prodigious settlement. ——

B. FRANKLIN.

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635. OBSERVATIONS ON MAYZ, OR INDIAN CORN [1] (L. C.)

IT is remark'd in North America, that the English Farmers, when they first arrive there, finding the Soil and Climate proper for the Husbandry they have been accustomed to, and particularly suitable for raising Wheat, they despise and neglect the Culture of Mayz: but observing the Advantage it affords their Neighbours, the older Inhabitants, they by degrees get more and more into the Practice of Raising it; and the Face of the Country shows, from time to time, that the Culture of that Grain goes on visibly augmenting.

The Inducements are, the many different Ways in which it may be prepared, so as to afford a wholesome and pleasing Nourishment to Men and other Animals. 1st. The Family can begin to make use of it before the time of full Harvest; for the tender green Ears, stript of their Leaves, and roasted by a quick Fire till the Grain is brown, and eaten with a little Salt or Butter, are a Delicacy. 2. When the Grain is riper

[1] Date unknown. — ED.

and harder, the Ears, boil'd in their Leaves, and eaten with Butter, are also good and agreable Food. The green tender Grains, dried, may be kept all the Year, and, mixed with green *Haricots*, also dried, make at any time a pleasing Dish, being first soak'd some hours in Water, and then boil'd. When the Grain is ripe and hard, there are also several Ways of using it. One is, to soak it all Night in a *Lessive*, and then pound it in a large wooden Mortar with a wooden Pestle; the Skin of each Grain is by this means stript off, and the farinaceous part left whole, which, being boil'd, swells into a white soft Pulp, and eaten with Milk, or with Butter and Sugar, is delicious. The dry Grain is also sometimes ground loosely, so as to be broke into Pieces of the size of Rice, and being winnow'd to separate the Bran, it is then boil'd and eaten with Turkies or other Fowls, as Rice. Ground into a finer Meal, they make of it by Boiling a hasty-pudding, or *Bouilli*, to be eaten with Milk, or with Butter and Sugar; this resembles what the Italians call *Polenta*. They make of the same Meal, with Water and Salt, a hasty Cake, which, being stuck against a Hoe or any flat Iron, is plac'd erect before the Fire, and so baked, to be used as Bread. Broth is also agreably thicken'd with the same Meal. They also parch it in this manner. An Iron Pot is fill'd with Sand, and set on the Fire till the Sand is very hot. Two or three Pounds of the Grain are then thrown in, and well mix'd with the Sand by stirring. Each Grain bursts and throws out a white Substance of twice its bigness. The Sand is separated by a Wire Sieve, and return'd into the Pot, to be again heated and repeat the Operation with fresh Grain. That which is parch'd is pounded to a Powder in Mortars. This, being sifted, will keep long for Use. An Indian will travel far and

subsist long on a small Bag of it, taking only 6 or 8 Ounces of it per day, mix'd with water.

The Flour of *Mayz*, mix'd with that of Wheat, makes excellent Bread, sweeter and more agreable than that of Wheat alone. To feed Horses, it is good to soak the Grain 12 hours; they mash it easier with their Teeth, and it yields them more Nourishment. The Leaves, stript off the Stalks after the Grain is ripe, and ty'd up in Bundles when dry, are excellent Forage for Horses, Cows, &c. The Stalks, press'd like Sugar-Cane, yield a sweet Juice, which, being fermented and distill'd, yields an excellent Spirit; boil'd without Fermentation, it affords a pleasant Syrop. In Mexico, Fields are sown with it thick, that multitudes of small Stalks may arise, which, being cut from time to time like Asparagus, are serv'd in desserts, and their sweet Juice extracted in the Mouth by chewing them. The Meal wet is excellent Food for young Chickens, and the whole Grain for grown Fowls.

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